Lorenzo Principi

The Master of the Unruly Children: *River God* and *Bacchus*

TRINITY FINE ART

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THE MASTER OF THE UNRULY CHILDREN
probably Sandro di Lorenzo di Smeraldo
(Florence 1483 – *c.* 1554)

River God

terracotta, 26 x 33 x 21 cm

PROVENANCE:
heirs of the Zalum family, Florence
(probably Villa Gamberaia)

THE MASTER OF THE UNRULY CHILDREN
probably Sandro di Lorenzo di Smeraldo
(Florence 1483 – *c.* 1554)

Bacchus

terracotta, 25 x 29 x 20 cm

PROVENANCE:
heirs of the Zalum family, Florence
(probably Villa Gamberaia)

These two terracottas represent a *River God* and a *Bacchus* and were conceived as a pair: the *River God* is shown reclining with his right leg extended and his left bent back whereas in the *Bacchus* this pose is symmetrically reversed. The treatment of the clay is animated, with deep incisions. Although the rear of the figures is modelled, they were made to be viewed from the front. The absence of air holes, their weight (6,4 kg [*River God*]; 5,9 kg [*Bacchus*]), and the inspection of their bases prove the figures to be solid and not hollowed out.[1] The two works display slightly different states of conservation: both lack part of the leg that is bent backwards. Both have been covered by a white coating that is probably not original but has turned yellow as the result of oxidation and is still visible particularly in the *Bacchus*. Originally, they were probably painted so as to resemble bronze (see below, chapter 4).

In the *River God*, the opportunity to examine its appearance before the application of the later layer of colour, enables us more easily to appreciate the sculptor's extraordinary technique, evident in the marks left by his tools and his fingertips.

The virtuoso, twisted, and serpentine composition is emphasized by the position of the right arm, resting on its elbow, recumbent on a rock with cascading water. This clearly identifies the sculpture as a *River God*, as does the vase pouring water and the powerful, shaggy appearance of the old man, who appears to be just emerging from the earth. He is distinguished by a thick beard with each hair modelled individually and resembling the roots of plants. It is an atavistic image of a sylvan deity that appears to spring to life from the earthen material from which it is made. The stalactite-like hair, the torrents of water pouring from the vase, the sharp edges of the rocks, and the painstaking definition of the most minute details attest to the artist's great skill in modelling clay.

The *Bacchus* has a more serene appearance and a gentler gaze – contrasting with the spirit evoked by the *River God*. This sculpture is easily recognisable as the god of wine thanks to the goblet at the man's feet, the wine cask upon which he is reclining, and the bowl held in his left hand, while in his right he is holding a vase pouring water.[2] Like the *River God*, the *Bacchus* features luxuriant hair and a thick beard. However, unlike the *River God*,

[1] The hypothesis that the artist had moulds of the *Bacchus* and the *River Gods* in which he first cast and then modelled the figures by hand, cannot be entirely excluded. To confirm it careful examination of the execution is required, as well as a systematic detailed comparison of the dimensions of all versions. A similar conjecture might be made about the statuettes of Madonna and Child and Charity (see *Charity, Madonna and Child, seated,* under Catalogue raisonné), where the Master of the Unruly Children, as in the statuettes discussed here, seems to adopt a predefined compositional scheme, with slight variations in detail. See also St *John the Baptist as a Child* under Catalogue raisonné, and pp. 37-38, concerning the bust of St *John as a Child* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[2] The liquid pouring from the vase is meant to be water, as attested by the 1523 document in which a similar sculpture by Sandro di Lorenzo is described (see also below, pp. 16-19).

the beard conceals the entire mouth, emphasizing the long moustache apparently still dripping with wine.

In the modelling of the figure and the anatomical interest, both works display a style characteristic of the early 16th century. The two statuettes belong to a limited series of very similar terracotta sculptures attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children, currently numbering twelve examples (see List), many of which are in important European and American museums.

Among these, eight represent *River Gods*: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (cat. A); San Francisco, The Fine Arts Museum (cat. C) ; Providence, The Rhode Island School of Design (cat. E); Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (cat. 2); Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro (cat. F). To these can be added one formerly with Julius Böhler (cat. 1), one formerly with Daniel Katz Ltd. (cat. 3), and our version (cat. 5). The Trinity *River God* (cat. 5) and that in the Ca' d'Oro (cat. F) are not known to the scholars who have explored this sculptural genre.

In a number of the figures identified as *Allegories of Rivers* or *River Gods,* the traditional iconography is combined with attributes alluding to the seasons and, more in general, to fertility.[3]

The number of sculptures representing *Bacchus* is fewer: I know of only four versions. Besides the Trinity example (cat. 12), there is one in the Institute of Arts in Detroit (cat. B), another in the Princeton University Art Museum (cat. D), whereas one (with a modern head) was with Daniel Katz Ltd., London (cat. 4). Not all attributes in these sculptures are specific to Bacchus, as in the present version in which the god of wine holds a vase from which water pours forth (see p. 41).

Of the ten terracottas belonging to the series that have been published until now, only four (the two versions formerly with Julius Böhler [cat. 1 and 2] – one of which is now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich – and the pair in the Katz gallery [cat. 3 and 4]), have been published as pairs. All the others appeared as single pieces.

It is therefore important to emphasize that the Trinity *River God* and *Bacchus* have survived any attempt to separate them and are currently the only pair of this type.[4]

These sculptures were conceived in accordance with a traditional iconography that has its roots in Antiquity (see pp. 43-44). They

[3] Referring to the pair, which formerly belonged to Böhler and the statuette in San Francisco, in which the rocks gushing with water and on which the old Bacchus reclines are replaced by a basket piled high with fruits and vegetables (cat. C, 1 and 2). See also p. 51.

[4] With the possible exception of the Katz versions (cat. 3 and 4).

Figs. 1, 2. Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, *c.* 1523. Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts;
Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, *c.* 1523. Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum.

evoke celebrated contemporary prototypes, such as Michelangelo's reclining figures of the *Hours of the Day* in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence (see pp. 41-43). The uniqueness of the Trinity pair lies in the particular position it occupies in the history of Italian Renaissance *Kleinplastik*, halfway between the statuettes of Riccio and those of Giambologna.

1. FLORENCE 1523

For Florence, 1523 was a year marked by momentous events. Early that year, the city was struck by an outbreak of plague. In Rome, Adrian VI died on 14 September after a brief pontificate, and two months later, on 18 November, the Florentine cardinal Giulio de' Medici, a cousin of Leo X, was elected pope as Clement VII. The election of a new Medici Pope provided a stimulus and the means for Michelangelo to complete his work on the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, which had been halted during the pontificate of Adrian VI. A year later, the models for the sculptures destined for the altars of the sacristy had already taken shape.

1523 was also the year of a legal dispute. On 16 May,[5] Giovanfrancesco Rustici and Niccolò Tribolo, two of the city's most renowned artists, agreed to value four terracotta sculptures that were painted to resemble bronze ("ad instar heris") and are

[5] BUTTERFIELD, FRANKLIN 1998, pp. 819, 822-823 doc. I: Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Notarile Antecosimiano, 5962 (Antonio Dainelli da Bagnano, 1520-1525), fo. 199v.

Figs. 3,4. Master of the Unruly Children and unknown modern sculptor (the head), *Bacchus*, c. 1523, Formerly London, with Daniel Katz;
Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, c. 1523, London, Trinity Fine Art

expressly stated to have been made by Sandro (Alessandro) di Lorenzo di Smeraldo (1483 – *c.* 1554).[6] These had been accepted by the notary Santi di Guasparre Giunti dalla Pieve in lieu of payment for legal services he had carried out for Sandro di Lorenzo.[7] A few days later, on 29 May, Rustici was replaced by the painter and sculptor Antonio di Giovanni, called "il Solosmeo".[8] The reasons for this replacement remain unclear, and two different hypotheses can be advanced. Either Rustici was thought to be too closely associated with Sandro di Lorenzo to be able to provide an impartial opinion or he was somehow unable to complete the task entrusted to him.

On the same day,[9] Tribolo and Solosmeo valued Sandro di Lorenzo's four works, which were now specified as being of dried clay ("terra non cocta", "terra cruda") and being painted to resemble bronze: "a Laocoön, a 'Bambino', a Judith, and a Bacchus" ("uno Laocohonte, uno Bambino, una Iudith et uno Bacho"). With only one exception, these small sculptures derived from older prototypes. The highest value, four and a half "ducati [...] d'oro larghi", was assigned to a copy after the famous antique group of Laocoön, which had been discovered in Rome in 1506.[10] The "Bambino" was a cast ("formato") after "another Infant by Desiderio, noble master" ("da uno altro Bambino di mano di Desiderio, nobile maestro"), that is, after Desiderio da Settignano's famous *Infant Christ* that crowns his Tabernacle in San Lorenzo, Florence.[11] The case of *Judith* is more problematic. In the valuation it is stated that the figure was "portrayed by master Andrea del Verrocchio" ("ritracta da maestro Andrea del

[6] WALDMAN 2005.

[7] Santi di Guasparre della Pieve, nominally replaced by his brother, Michele, acted as an attorney for Sandro di Lorenzo in a debt collection lawsuit brought against him before the civil court of Florence by Margherita, the widow of his uncle Luca di Smeraldo. A mortgage had been previously taken out on a house owned by the sculptor in the neighborhood of San Niccolò Oltrarno. Sandro was eventually cleared of all charges and was therefore given back the full ownership of that property. The files of the trial are to be found in ASF, *Consiglio di giustizia*, 1502-1532, 311, fos. 643r-646r (December 23rd 1522); *ibidem*, 312, fo. 837r-v (January 29th 1523); fos. 926r-929v (January 30th 1523); fos. 988r-989r (January 31st 1523); *ibidem*, 313, fos. 94r-95v (February 4th 1523); fo. 808r-v (February 26th 1523). A few weeks after the verdict, Santi della Pieve, aiming at recovering his attorney's fees, filed a suit in the same court against Sandro (cfr. ASF, *Consiglio di giustizia*, 1502-1532, 315, fos. 412r-413v; April 27th 1523). Later on, the parties seem to have agreed to settle the matter privately by proceeding to the assessment of the group of terracruda figures offered by Sandro to Santi as a payment in kind. I would like to thank Davide Gambino for providing and summarizing the above-referenced documents.

[8] BUTTERFIELD, FRANKLIN 1998, pp. 819, 823 doc. II: ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 3882 (Andrea Caiani, 1522-1524), fo. 135v.

[9] BUTTERFIELD, FRANKLIN 1998, pp. 819, 823-824 doc. III: ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 14325 (Zaccheria Minori, 1519-1524), fo. 206r-207v.

[10] Butterfield, Franklin 1998, p. 824 doc. III. The *Laocoön* was ¾ of a braccio high (*c.* 43.5 cm) whereas his sons were an half of a braccio (*c.* 29 cm). The fact that Laocoön and his sons were measured separately might imply that this sculpture consisted of three pieces.

[11] The *Christ Child* by Desiderio measures *c.* 60 cm (cf. M. Bormand 2007[b]), while that by Sandro di Lorenzo was a braccio high (*c.* 58 cm) and was valued at one large gold ducat. None of the numerous versions in terracotta that are known is painted to resemble bronze. Interestingly a model of a *Putto* in terracruda attributed to Verrocchio in the National Gallery of Washington (75 cm) is probably referred to in the 1553 inventory of the Medici Guardaroba segreta in Palazzo Vecchio: "A small figurine with a ball under its feet" ("Una figuretta di terra cotta con palla sotto e piedi"): Müntz 1895, p. 59 [139]; Barocchi, Gaeta Bertelà 2002, I, p. 191.

Verrochio"). This might imply that it was modelled and not cast after a prototype tentatively identified by Andrew Butterfield and David Franklin, the document's editors, with a model reflected in a bronze statuette in the Detroit Institute of Arts, commonly ascribed to Pollaiolo (*c.* 1465 – 1475)[12] or in a type known through a handful of terracotta statuettes attributed to Giovanni della Robbia (*c.* 1520).[13]

The valuation specifies that the fourth sculpture, the *Bacchus*, "lies down, and rests on a wine cask, and on the left side holds in his hand a vase that pours forth water, ¾ of a *braccio* high" ("istà a diacere et posasi in sun una bocte et dal lato mancho ha in mano un vaso che butta acqua, che è di grandezza di ¾ di braccio").[14] This was valued twelve *lire* and five *soldi* – the same as the *Judith*.

Figs. 5,6. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art; Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz.

[12] The Sandro *Judith* was a braccio high (*c.* 51 cm) and he was paid 12 lire and 5 soldi for it. On the Detroit *Judith*, (h. 42.9 cm), see, A. Wright 2005, pp. 329-334, 527 cat. 63; Musacchio 2008, p. 237.

[13] The most famous of these are found in the Museo Bardini in Florence (50 cm: Butterfield, Franklin 1998, p. 820) and in the Bellini collection (65 x 33 cm: F. Domestici, in Arezzo 2009, p. 360 cat. 103). Cfr. also Tschermak Von Seysenegg 1986; Idem 1989.

[14] Butterfield, Franklin 1998, p. 824 doc. III. I have been able to examine the original document, in which the spelling of the phrase "batta acqua" as the two scholars erroneously transcribed it, should instead read correctly "butta acqua".

In contrast to the other figures, Tribolo and Solosmeo describe the design of the *Bacchus* precisely. And they omit the name of its author. It is of course possible that they did not know his identity. But the more likely explanation is that this omission – combined with the precise description – means that the figure was both invented and made by Sandro di Lorenzo himself,[15] also as no similar antique or Early Renaissance model of a Bacchus is known.[16]

According to Butterfield and Franklin, the *Bacchus* "derived" from an early 16th-century terracotta statuette in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 1),[17] portraying a vigorous, bearded god of wine, half reclining on a cask and holding in his left hand a bunch of grapes, "known in various versions".[18] No other replicas of the

Detroit terracotta are known. But three other statuettes correspond precisely to the description of the terracotta supplied in the 1523 valuation. These three are listed here according to the year of their publication:

1. Princeton, University Art Museum (cat. D; fig. 2); 2. Formerly London, Daniel Katz Ltd. (cat. 4; fig. 3); and 3. the present *Bacchus* (cat. 6; fig. 4). All three are of approximately the same height – which is somewhat less than that indicated in the 1523 valuation (¾ of a Florentine *braccio* = *c.* 43.5 cm) – and correspond exactly to the description given there for the *Bacchus*. Thus there can be no doubt that Sandro di Lorenzo's allegory of the god of wine was of the same type as these four terracottas. In

[15] Sénéchal 2007, p. 150, also leaves this question unresolved, but suggests that Sandro was perhaps responsible for the composition.

[16] Ibid., p. 150.

[17] A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101.

[18] Butterfield, Franklin 1998, p. 819.

Figs. 7,8. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro; Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz

the valuation, *Bacchus* is said to hold a vase that pours water "dal lato mancho" ("on the left side"), which must be the left side from the observer's point of view, as there are no similar statuettes in which a vase pouring water is being held on the figure's own left hand side.

The existence of a precise document, describing a clearly identifiable sculptural type, allows us to place in context both the Trinity *Bacchus* and its pendant. This represents a *River God* (fig. 5) similar in size, quality and style to the three above-mentioned terracottas. The Detroit *Bacchus* was attributed by Charles Avery in 1981[19] to the Master of the Unruly Children and this attribution has been generally[20] accepted by later scholarship. We

[19] C. Avery, in Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981, pp. 46-49 cat. 9, *esp.* p. 49.

[20] Boucher 1991, II, pp. 371-372 cat. 118, attributed it to a sculptor close to Tribolo; A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101, linked it to one close to Bartolomeo Ammannati instead.

Figs. 9,10. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz;
Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art

must therefore now turn to the corpus of works given to this master, the figure of which was created by Wilhelm Bode in 1890.

2. SANDRO DI LORENZO AND THE MASTER OF THE UNRULY CHILDREN

Bode[21] assembled a series of works in his discussion of the *putto* in Renaissance sculpture. He associated some versions of *Fighting Children* in the Kaiser-Friderich Museum in Berlin and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, a *Madonna and Child* in the same Berlin museum, and other works in Berlin, London, and in Florence. The scholar deemed to recognise in them the work of a follower of Donatello active towards the middle of the Quattrocento. Initially, Bode adopted the formula "Meister der derben Kinder",[22] while the *Notname* "Meister der unartigen Kinder" (Master of the Unruly Children, Maestro dei bambini turbolenti/irrequieti, Maître des Enfants Turbulents) was adopted for the first time in the indices compiled by Frida Schottmüller for the *Denkmäler der Renaissance-Sculptur Toscanas*.[23] From the beginning of the 20th century, this contribution aroused substantial interest among connoisseurs, particularly in German circles, and in fact, Hugo von Tschudi,[24] Cornelius von Fabriczy,[25] Frida Schottmüller,[26] Paul Schubring,[27] and Wilhelm Reinhold

[21] BODE 1890, pp. 102-105. The corpus assembled by Bode included two works in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, which were subsequently reallocated to Pierino da Vinci: a terracotta depicting *Two Putti with a Goose* attributed to Vinci by GRAMBERG (1931, pp. 224-225) and *Two winged boys*, attributed to Pierino, following the suggestion of James Holderbaum, by POPE-HENNESSY 1964, II, pp. 440-442 cat. 470. For these two works cfr. KUSCH-ARNHOLD 2008, pp. 95 cat. 1, 255-258 cat. V. 1; J.-C. BAUDEQUIN, in PARIS 2010, pp. 24-27. This artist, a sculptor who oscillated between neo-Donatellian tendencies and reminiscences of Leonardo, his uncle, although at a much later date, displays interesting similarities to the Master of the Unruly Children. It is also no longer possible to include in the catalogue of the anonymous artist's work the *Young St John the Baptist in the Grotto* from which Bode began his reconstruction (1890, p. 103), and which SCHOTTMÜLLER 1933, p. 159 cat. 1584, had subsequently moved to the catalogue of works by Santi Buglioni. Nor is the *Madonna and Child* published by the scholar in 1914 (BODE 1914, col. 263) the work of our artist: this sculpture was subsequently attributed to a more generic Tuscan circle of the first half of the 16th century by SCHOTTMÜLLER (1933, pp. 149-150 cat. 7176).

[22] Bode 1890, p. 105.

[23] F. Schottmüller, in Bode 1892-1905, XII (*Text*), p. 191.

[24] Tschudi 1899, p. 83.

[25] Fabriczy 1909, pp. 19-20 cat. 23-26, 25 cat. 64, 40 cat. 140, 44-45 cat. 162-164.

[26] Schottmüller 1913, pp. 86-88 cat. 210-214; Eadem 1933, pp. 157-159.

[27] Schubring 1922, p. 172.

[28] Valentiner 1932, p. 60 e nota 5.

[29] Stites 1926, pp. 106-107; Idem 1931, pp. 290-292, 293, 295. The scholar, also in later studies (see note 48), explored the hypothesis that behind our artist might be concealed Leonardo.

[30] Middeldorf 1934, p. 40; Idem 1935, p. 76 note 34; Idem 1938, p. 102;

[31] C. Avery, in Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981, pp. 46-49 cat. 9. See also below, pp. 63-64

Valentiner[28] were to explore it further. In two articles in 1926 and in 1931, Raimond Stites[29] attempted to identify the unknown artist with Leonardo da Vinci and, correctly, shifted the hypothetical chronology of his activity towards the beginning of the 16th century. Ulrich Middeldorf also believed that the chronology should be later.[30] The conclusion that the works in the group could be dated to the first half of the Cinquecento and associated with Rustici's workshop was reached thanks to the research of Charles Avery[31] and Massimo Ferretti, which will be examined in detail later.[32]

The corpus of the Master of the Unruly Children, as it appears today, has so many similarities with that of Rustici that it

Figs. 11,12. Master of the Unruly Children, *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers*, 1510-1520. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Loeser collection (from Casa Ridolfi); Master of the Unruly Children, *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers*, 1510-1520. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Loeser collection (from Casa Rucellai).

[32] Ferretti 1992, p. 63. See also pp. 64-65

[33] See also below, pp. 30, 38 and *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers*, under Catalogue raisonné

[34] Sénéchal 2007, pp. 150, 205 cat. S. 23.

[35] Sénéchal 2007, pp. 238-240 cat. SR. 37a-SR. 40b (with previous literature).

sometimes seems that the production of the two artists is interchangeable, both stylistically and thematically. This is particularly evident in the case of four *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers* (figs. 11-13).[33] And indeed Philippe Sénéchal identified a *River God* (fig. 6) formerly with Daniel Katz Ltd. as an autograph work by Rustici[34] and the prototype for a group of similar terracottas by the Master of the Unruly Children – a group which comprises six entries in the *œuvres refusées* section of the catalogue raisonné in his 2007 Rustici monograph.[35] Further versions have been included in the catalogue attached to this study but their comparative analysis does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Katz version is a prototype copied by

another, lesser artist. In the Katz *River God* the definition is indeed sharper, as can be seen, for instance, when we compare its abdomen to that in the Ca' d'Oro terracotta (figs. 7-8). But this is merely a difference in the degree of precision in modelling and does not constitute a reason for ascribing it to another artist. In other cases differences derive from an inferior state of conservation, as can be seen when comparing the head of the Katz version to that of the terracotta with Trinity Fine Art (figs. 9-10). Works that fall under the name of the Master of the Unruly Children indicate that he was a specialist in the art of the small-scale terracotta, intended for the decoration of domestic interiors and private devotion. This corpus of works can be subdivided

Fig. 13. Master of the Unruly Children, *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers*, 1510-1520. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz.

into several characteristic types, generally consisting of sculptures repeating the same basic theme with minor variations. In addition to figures reclining on their sides – which form the subject of the present study – the most popular types are (in most likely chronological order of their invention): *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers*[36] (figs. 11-13), *Fighting Children*[37] (significantly, two of these are painted to resemble bronze; figs. 22-23), figures of *Madonna* – seated, with the Christ Child,[38] (figs. 68-70), standing[39] (fig. 28) – and allegories of *Charity*[40] (figs. 60-62, 64-65). To these types, known in several versions, can be added some compositions for which only single works have come to light: a *Fortitude* in the Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio in

[36] See *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[37] See *Children, Fighting*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[38] See *Madonna and Child, seated*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[39] See *Madonna and Child, standing*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[40] See *Charity, groups of*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[41] See *Fortitude*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[42] See *Madonna kneeling in prayer*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[43] See *Madonna and Child with St Anne*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[44] See *A Shepherd*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[45] See *St John the Baptist*, under Catalogue raisonné.

Cerreto Guidi, erroneously attributed to Antonio Pollaiolo (fig. 66);[41] the *Madonna Kneeling in Prayer*, formerly London, with Daniel Katz (fig. 67);[42] the *Madonna and Child with* St *Anne* in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (fig. 71);[43] an unpublished *Shepherd* on the art market (fig. 72);[44] a St *John the Baptist as a Child* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figs. 14,15,16,17. Clockwise: Master of the Unruly Children: *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers*, detail, 1510-1520, formerly London, with Daniel Katz; *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523, London, Trinity Fine Art; *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers*, detail, 1510-1520. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Loeser collection (from Casa Ridolfi); *Bacchus*, detail, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art;

(fig. 33);[45] and a *Tobias and the Angel* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (fig. 73);[46] All these works point to an eccentric artistic personality, comparable to that of the painter Giovanni Larciani, long known as the Master of the Kress Landscapes.[47] Like Larciani, the Master of the Unruly Children was capable of independently embodying the various tendencies

in the Florentine Art of his times. In the *Battles* he follows Leonardo and Rustici[48]. In the *Madonna and Child* in the church of the Madonna della Salute e di San Nicolao in Buggiano (fig. 24),[49] he enters into dialogue with Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo* in the Uffizi (1503-1504, fig. 25) in the muscular rendering of the Infant Christ.[50] In one of his probable earliest works, a terracotta

[46] See *Tobias and the Angel*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[47] FERRETTI 1992, pp. 46, 49.

[48] On echoes of Leonardo and Rustici in the works attributed to the master: STITES 1926, pp. 106-107; IDEM 1931, pp. 290-292, 293, 295; IDEM 1963[a], pp. 9-13; IDEM 1963[b], pp. 25, 28, 32; IDEM 1970, pp. 74-78, pp. 334-335; C. AVERY, in WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, CAMBRIDGE 1981, pp. 46-49 cat. 9; FERRETTI 1992, pp. 42-47.

Figs. 18,19,20,21. Clockwise: Master of the Unruly Children: *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art; *Battle between Riders and Footsoldiers* , detail, 1510-1520. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Loeser collection (from Casa Rucellai); *Bacchus*, detail, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art; *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

Madonna and Child in San Bartolomeo a Badia a Ripoli (fig. 27), identified by Giancarlo Gentilini who kindly pointed it out to me, he depends upon Raphael's *Madonna and Child seated on Clouds* engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 26). [51]

Some of the works by this master might have been collaborative enterprises, as in the case of the Buggiano *Madonna*, dating

between 1515-1525. Originally attributed to the young Jacopo Sansovino, and to Pietro Torrigiani, it was plausibly associated by Magnolia Scudieri to our Master alongside two similar groups in Sorana and Serra Pistoiese.[52] In 1992 Massimo Ferretti attributed it to the young Zaccaria Zacchi from Volterra on the basis of telling comparisons with Zacchi's later Bolognese works of the 1520s .[53] This proved to be a fortunate intuition and one that has been accepted in later scholarship. Indeed, the group reveals interesting affinities with Zacchi in the handling of the facial features and some aspects of the drapery. He could

[49] See *Questionable attributions*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[50] Also Bode 1890, p. 102, considers the "muskulösen Formen" a criterium for attributing of other works to the anonymous artist.

[51] See *Questionable attributions*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[52] See *Questionable attributions*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[53] Ferretti 1992, pp. 47-48. See also *Questionable attributions*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[54] Also Sénéchal 2012, p. 31, proposes the presence of several artists in the catalogue of the Master of the Unruly Children.

Figs. 22,23. Master of the Unruly Children: *Fighting Children*, 1510-1520. Berlin, Bode-Museum (before 1945); *Fighting Children*, 1510-1520. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

therefore have been partly responsible for its making.[54] However, a complete identification of the repertoire of the unknown sculptor with that of Zacchi is not possible.

If this and, perhaps, the other two *Madonnas* in the province of Pistoia were made by different artists, the corpus of the Master of the Unruly Children is in all likelihood a heterogeneous entity within which more careful study might distinguish individual artistic personalities, including Zacchi.[55]

One episode provides a better understanding of the context within which these works were made. Between 1511 and 1512 a

[55] BACCHI 1995, p. 267. Cfr. also SÉNÉCHAL 2007, pp. 151-152. Two other sculptures formerly attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children are today correctly referred to Zacchi (LUCIDI 2012, pp. 146, 148): A terracotta *St Michael the Archangel* attributed to the unknown master by FERRETTI 1992, pp. 46-47, once with Drey, Munich (h. 66 cm), and a terracotta *Madonna and Child with Angels*, in the Museo Bardini in Florence. See also 198 *and Madonna and Child, seated, A Shepherd, Questionable attributions*, under Catalogué raisonné.

competition was held to assign the commission of a marble *Madonna and Child*, destined for a niche in the Mercato Nuovo in Florence.[56] The competition's judge was Lorenzo di Credi, pupil of Verrocchio. Participating in this competition were the young Baccio Bandinelli, alongside Baccio da Montelupo, Jacopo Sansovino, and Zaccaria Zacchi. Although Sansovino won the competition, the commission was assigned to Bandinelli for political reasons. Sansovino's model has been identified with a

Figs. 24,25. Zaccaria Zacchi (and the Master of the Unruly Children) ?, *Madonna and Child*, detail, 1515-1525. Buggiano, church of Santa Maria della Salute e San Nicolao; Michelangelo, *Doni Tondo*, detail, 1503-1504. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

[56] VASARI 1550, 1568, ed. 1966-1997, VI [1987], p. 179.

[57] The attribution to Sansovino by BALOGH 1937-1939, pp. 64-66, was confirmed by BOUCHER 1991, II, p. 319 cat. 8.

gilt wax in the Szépművészeti Múzeum in Budapest.[57] The one made by Baccio da Montelupo has recently been identified with a terracotta previously – and significantly – attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children.[58] We do not know what Bandinelli's marble looked like, but we can imagine that it was similar to the standing figure of the *Madonna and Child* (fig. 29) he carved in the 1518-1519 *Nativity* for the Holy House in Loreto,[59] which more than any other sculpture Bandinelli ever

created is unmistakably inspired by Leonardo. A lost terracotta (fig. 28) that has also been attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children, formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, compares well with these works.[60] It could reflect the Mercato Nuovo competition.

In the light of these considerations, it is not improbable that some of the works hitherto attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children might have been made during his early and unknown

[58] Referred to the Master of the Unruly Children (FABRICZY 1909, p. 40 cat. 140; SOTHEBY'S 2012, lot 323), it was correctly attributed to Baccio by LUCIDI 2013, pp. 70-71.

[59] On Bandinelli's relief in Loreto, cfr.: A. CHERUBINI, in FLORENCE 2014, p. 567 cat. II; WARD 2014, p. 608; ZURLA 2014, p. 29 (with previous literature).

[60] SCHOTTMÜLLER 1933, p. 157 cat. 1941. Cfr. also FERRETTI 1992, p. 46.

career as a sculptor by Bandinelli, whose lost early works, as we know from Vasari, were characterized by a revival of the Quattrocento, and of Donatello in particular, on the one hand and by the influence of Leonardo and his pupil Rustici (Bandinelli's master) on the other.[61]

It is interesting that an artist whose works reflect sculptures ascribed to the Master of the Unruly Children is Niccolò Tribolo, one of the assessors of the 1523 valuation. A pair of *Fighting*

Figs. 26,27. Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Madonna and Child on Clouds*, detail, *c.* 1511; Master of the Unruly Children ?, *Madonna and Child*, 1510-1515. Badia a Ripoli, church of San Bartolomeo.

[61] VASARI 1550, 1568, ed. 1966-1997, V [1984], p. 240. Cfr. also HEGENER 2010.

Figs. 28,29. Master of the Unruly Children, *Madonna standing with the Child*, 1510-1520. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum; Baccio Bandinelli, *Nativity* (detail), 1518-1519. Loreto, Sanctuary of the Holy House.

Children, formerly with Giancarlo Gallino, Turin, traditionally attributed to that Master, compares well with a group of similar putti engaged in a fight in Tribolo's *Translation of the Holy House* in the Basilica of Loreto (figs. 30-31).[62]

The corpus of the Master of the Unruly Children should therefore, as in the case of the Master of the Statuettes of David and St John,[63] be considered not so much as the result of the activity of a single artist but as that of a workshop inspired by common ideals and prototypes. Within this corpus the same hand can be recognised when we closely compare the *Battles* and the statuettes of *Bacchus* and *River Gods* to which we now must return (figs. 14-21).

If we accept that the *Bacchus* "che istà a diacere et posasi in sun una bocte" is indeed the work of Sandro di Lorenzo, it is highly likely, as other critics have suggested,[64] that the stylistically coherent group of the *Battles* and the reclining figures hitherto ascribed to the Master of the Unruly Children are by Sandro di Lorenzo.

What is more, thanks to Waldman's and Franklin's ground-breaking discovery, the picture of a gifted and versatile artist, also in touch with the workshop of Andrea del Sarto,[65] emerges, one particularly skilled in the production of small-

[62] Giannotti 2012, p. 175.

[63] The possibility that works by several artists might have been included in the corpus of the Master of the Unruly Children was expressed by Lucidi 2012, pp. 145-146. A similar hypothesis regarding the Master of the Statuettes of David and St John was proposed by Sénéchal 2007, p. 148. With regard to the identification of the latter the names of Baccio da Montelupo (Middeldorf 1935, pp. 76, 81) Jacopo Sansovino (G. Gentilini, in Impruneta 1980, pp. 97-98 cat. 2.8; Boucher 1991, I, pp. 6-7, II, pp. 313-314 cat. 1-2) and Benedetto da Rovezzano (Caglioti 1996, p. 101 note 76) have been suggested. For further detail on these differing opinions, see F. Caglioti, in Paris 2012, pp. 22-27 (with previous literature); G. Gentilini, in London 2014, pp. 6-13 cat. 1-2 (with previous literature).

[64] Bellandi 2004, p. 246 (indicated by Giancarlo Gentilini); Idem in Florence 2005, n.p. (but 16); Sénéchal 2007, pp. 149-150; Gentilini 2009, p. 56 note 48; Sénéchal 2012, p. 31.

[65] Shearman, 1965, II, pp. 320-321, 402 doc. 104.

scale statuary in contact with and in the service of some of Florence's nobility, such as the Ridolfi and Medici families .[66] Sandro di Lorenzo's workshop was involved not only in the production of small statues for private collectors, but created also crockery, essences, and perfumes.[67] A comparable figure was "Visino merciaio" ("Visino the haberdasher") – a poet, painter (who had studied with Andrea del Sarto), and member of literary academies.[68] A *Deposition* by Visino was in the collection of Giovanni Battista Doni, son of the patron of Michelangelo and Raphael, and is now in the Patriarchal

[66] On the patronage of the Ridolfi, see below, p. 34. WALDMAN 2005, p. 121. Connections with the Medici are attested by a document dated 5 June 1544 in which Sandro presented Duke Cosimo with a gift of several objects (Ibid., pp. 121-122). In a petition by Sandro to Cosimo of 10 July 1549, the artist reminds the Duke that he had offered Prince Francesco "dua putini". Waldman identifies them as "a pair of gilt metal puttini holding candelabrum" mentioned in the Guardaroba inventory of 1553. The materials are not specified: were they to have been in terracotta, they might be compared with the theme of the *Fighting Children* (figs. 22-23, 31) from whom the unknown Master's name derives. This might have provided further evidence towards identifying him as Sandro di Lorenzo.

Figs. 30,31. Niccolò Tribolo, *Translation of the Holy House*, detail, *c.* 1533. Loreto, Sanctuary of the Holy House; Master of the Unruly Children, *Fighting Children*, 1510-1520. Formerly Turin, with Giancarlo Gallino.

Seminary of Venice. Another similarly versatile artist was the perfumer Ciano Compagni ("Ciano profumiere"), mentioned in Vasari's *Lives* and responsible, together with Zanobi Lastricati, for a magnificent *Mercury* in bronze executed for the palazzo of Lorenzo Ridolfi (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum).[69] Documents regarding Sandro inform us that, in addition to the production of small statuary, he was particularly skilled in making death masks: in 1521 Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini bought from him "a terracotta cast" ("uno getto di terracotta") portraying the Dominican monk Filippo Benizi.[70] In 1528 he

[67] On Sandro di Lorenzo's workshop, cfr. BERTOLI 1992, p. 147; WALDMAN 2005, pp. 119-120.

[68] WELLEN 2010-2012.

[69] SPALLANZANI 1978; BÖSTROM 2012, p. 100; PIERGUIDI 2013; NESI 2015.

[70] LYDECKER 1987, p. 142; WALDMAN 2005, p. 120.

was paid 19 lire by the Badia Fiorentina for "a cast terracotta head made by order of Cellario" ("una testa di gietto di terra facta per ordine del Cellario")[71] and between 21 August 1533 and 5 March 1534 he is mentioned in the Ridolfi family ledgers, for the "labour of having cast the head of Giovanfrancesco our father"("per sua faticha d'avere gitata la testa di Giovanfrancesco nostro padre"), that is Giovanfrancesco di Ridolfo di Pagnozzo Ridolfi (1475-1533), as well as for having executed another unspecified mask ("il getto di una altra testa").[72] Neither of these survive, but they must have been similar to the masks included in the portraits of a *Gentleman of the Rucellai Family* in the Detroit Institute of Arts, and that of Palla di Bernardo Rucellai (1473-1543) in the Bode-Museum in Berlin.[73] Furthermore, Sandro di Lorenzo was paid in 1530 for having produced rag dummies made with bodily forms, cloths, and masks of three mercenary commanders during the siege of Florence by the imperial armies of Charles V.[74]

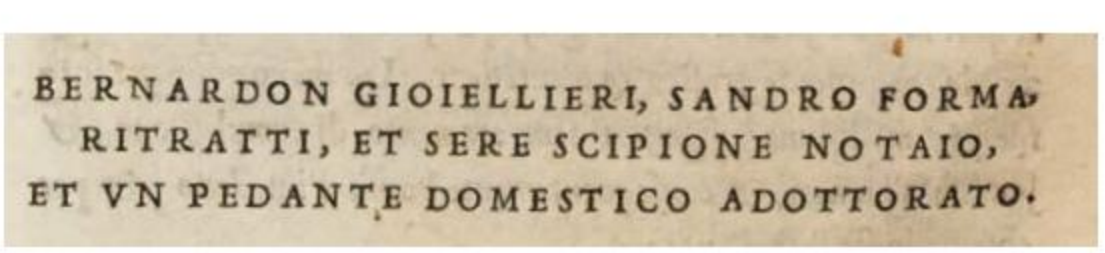
BERNARDON GIOIELLIERI, SANDRO FORMA-
RITRATTI, ET SERE SCIPIONE NOTAIO,
ET VN PEDANTE DOMESTICO ADOTTORATO.

Fig. 32. Anton Francesco Doni, *I marmi*, detail, Venice 1552-1553, p. 109.

Moreover, the suggestion that part of the oeuvre of the Master of the Unruly Children is by Sandro di Lorenzo is borne out by the important role he played, and the fame he subsequently enjoyed, in Florence in the early 16th century. This is testified to by the overlooked mention in Anton Francesco Doni's *I marmi*, first published in Venice in 1552. Among the protagonists of the last *ragionamento* in the third section of the book, in which notions of necromancy and chiromancy are explored,[75] we find "Sandro formaritratti" ("Sandro, the portrait maker"), Sandro di Lorenzo. He appears alongside "Bernardon gioiellieri" ("Bernardo the jeweller", i.e. Bernardo Baldini)[76] and "sere Scipione notaio", that is, Scipione Braccesi, a well-known notary often employed by Sandro di Lorenzo himself.[77] In the dialogue in which Sandro appears, he is especially noted for his skill in producing death masks.[78] When Sandro is asked by a "Pedante domestico addottorato" ("a lettered pedant servant") to show his hand, he replies: "here

[71] Waldman 2005, p. 120.

[72] Ibid., p. 121.

[73] A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 194-197 cat. 95, attributes the bust to Pietro Torrigiani and identifies it with the Palla Rucellai. Contrary to what the scholar maintains, it is in fact not possible to recognize the same person portrayed in the Berlin bust as the subject of the bust in Detroit. On the basis of a drawing with the *Portrait of Palla Rucellai* of 1506, instead, the latter appears recognisable only in the Berlin work, while the Detroit bust might portay one of his two brothers: (Piero [1464-1514] or Giovanni di Bernardo [1475-1525]).

[74] Shearman, 1965, II, pp. 320-321, 402 doc. 104; Edgerton 1985, p. 113; Terry-Fritsch 2015, p. 198.

[75] Doni 1552-1553, ed. 1928, II, pp. 97-109. Cfr. also Forno 1992, pp. 219-220; Cherchi 2001, pp. 18-21; Masi 2009, p. 160 note 76;

[76] Mentioned by Benvenuto Cellini as "Bernadonaccio orafo" (Cellini c. 1558-1567 ed. 1985, I, 80; II, 60, 64, 84, 89, 91, 101), and by Benedetto Varchi (c. 1547, ed. 1721, pp. 366, 522) as "Bernardo Baldini gioelliere", he can be identified as Bernardo Baldini, responsible for two reliquaries in the Treasury of the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Florence: cfr. Collareta 1976; E. Nardinocchi in Florence 1995, pp. 42-45 cat. 9-10.

[77] Waldman 2005, pp. 125 note 17, 125 note 18, 126 note 19, 127 note 36, 127 note 47.

[78] On the complex problem and on the use of funeral masks in Italy between the Quattro and Cinquecento: Schiaparelli 1908, pp. 192-194; Maclagan 1923; Benkard 1927; Schuyler 1976, Eadem 1986; Lugli 1995; Chlíbec 1995-1996, Gentilini 1996a; Dempsey 1999; Belting 2002; Essen 2002; Hertl 2002; Klier 2004, pp. 9-51; Kohl 2007; Panzanelli 2008; Cascio, Pingaud 2012; Krass 2012, pp. 118-166; Belting 2013, pp. 118-136; G. Gentilini in Florence 2013c, pp. 416-418 cat. 36; Kohl 2013; Heran 2014; Krass 2014; Olariu 2014, pp. 211-280.

you are; but it's a bit chalky, since I've made I don't know how many heads". ("Eccola; ma l'è un poco gessosa, perchè ho formato non so che teste").[79]

The reference to Sandro di Lorenzo in Doni's *I marmi* confirms his standing in the cultural and artistic milieu of mid 16th-century Florence. Doni's work mentions many of the most influential and well-known figures in the city at that time. Referring exclusively to artists, the book's other illustrious protagonists are, in order of appearance, "Visino merciaio", Francesco Moschino, Niccolò Tribolo, Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, "Ciano profumiere", Nanni Unghero, Silvio Cosini, Santi Buglioni, and Bernardo Baldini.

[79] Doni 1552-1553, ed. 1928, II, p. 108.

Fig. 33. Master of the Unruly Children, *St John the Baptist as a Child*, 1520-1530. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

A significant element that links the Master of the Unruly Children with Sandro di Lorenzo and suggests this identification is the bust of *St John the Baptist as a Child* in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,[80] a sculpture already included by Bode in the catalogue of the anonymous artist. In fact this work is probably a cast after a lost original by Desiderio da Settignano or by Antonio Rossellino,[81] which our artist made and reworked with the characteristics typical of his style. Of many moulds deriving from works by Desiderio, this is the only one to have been associated with the Master of the Unruly Children. Not in subject matter, but in technique and in the

[80] See Catalogue raisonné, under *St John the Baptist as a Child*

[81] Pope-Hennessy 1964, II, pp. 408-409 cat. 427; Ferretti 1992, p. 46. The lost 15th-century original cannot have been dissimilar to the *Bust of a Boy* in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, attributed to the workshop of Desiderio da Settignano (Bormand 2007a, pp. 51, 58 fig. 32).

choice of a Quattrocento model, this work corresponds to the mention, in the 1523 estimate, of a "Bambino" cast by Sandro di Lorenzo after “another Infant by Desiderio” ("formato da uno altro Bambino di mano di Desiderio").[82]

The multifaceted and eccentric personality of Sandro di Lorenzo, as we have tried to reconstruct it, is reflected in the composition and technique of his terracottas, marked by a swirl of sentiments and motifs, by the dynamic interaction between the figures in his groups, enhanced by awkward gestures and an expressive emphasis on faces contorted by tears, rage, and introspection. All of his works display, if we wish to identify Sandro di Lorenzo as the sculptor of the *Battles* and of the statuettes of *River God* and *Bacchus*, extreme refinement in the rapid and vigorous modelling of the clay, in which he chips the material away with forceful strokes, providing the figures both with solidity and a vibrant surface.

[82] See also above, p.15.

3. *LIEGEFIGUREN*. FROM THE ANTIQUE TO THE MASTER OF THE UNRULY CHILDREN

It appears that no iconographic precedents – either antique or 15th century – are known of a similar representation of *Bacchus*. In this series, the depiction of the god of wine clearly draws on the composition of river gods: an iconography is adopted for Bacchus that is hybrid, in that he is holding in his right hand a vase pouring water, alluding to fertility as in the *River Gods*.[83] Thus, it is necessary to examine the development of the iconography of river gods. In the Trinity statuettes antique and modern figurative sources are skillfully combined. Their arrangement recalls Ghiberti's *Adam* in the Gates of Paradise, Filippino Lippi's *Noah* in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella (*c.* 1495), and Franciabigio's representation of an antique River God in his *Triumph of Cicero* in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano (1521).[84] Giovanfrancesco Rustici too, mentioned earlier, also produced an interpretation of a River personification in a tondo in the courtyard of the Villa Salviati in Ponte alla Badia (1518).[85]

However, in the symmetry of their respective poses (figs. 37, 47-48), they find an immediate precedent in the reclining figures of the *Hours of the Day* (fig. 34) Michelangelo carved for the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence between 1524 and 1531. Closer still is their relation to Michelangelo's famous models of *River Gods* for the same location, of which those remaining are preserved in the Casa Buonarroti (fig. 36).[86] These models share a similar pose in the muscular legs and design of the creases in the abdomen. These and a series of related drawings (fig. 35) are the only testimonies of the marble sculptures Michelangelo intended to place on the floor of the Sacristy, beneath the monuments of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and Giuliano, Duke of Nemours.[87] Michelangelo's models are mentioned in a dialogue by Doni in which, during a visit to the Sacristy, the Accademico Peregrino declares: "What are these astonishing clay models down here?" ("Che stupende bozze di terra son queste qui basse?") and the Accademico Fiorentino replies: "They were to be two large figures in marble that Michel Agnolo wanted to make". ("Avevano a essere due figuroni di marmo che Michel Agnolo voleva fare").[88]

[83] Regarding the iconographic precedents of this representation of Bacchus, see SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p.150. See also chapter 1, pp.11, 51, and cat. D 4,6.

[84] J. AUERSPERG, in NEW YORK, LONDON 1996, p. 10 cat. 2.

[85] T. MOZZATI, in FLORENCE 2010, pp. 362-375 cat. 39, *esp.* pp. 371 fig. 14, 372.

[86] The first, in terracotta, datable to circa 1524, is of large dimensions and 180 cm long (O'GRODY 1999, pp. 115-165, 242-249 cat. 6), the second, in wax is small and 22 cm in length (P. RAGIONIERI, in ROME 2014, pp. 314 cat. VI.9). The chronology of the latter is debated: some critics date it to 1516-1518, while others date it to 1524-1525. For the various opinions on the possible function of the second, cfr. O'GRODY 1999, pp. 234-238 cat. 4. See also below, pp. 63, 64-65.

[87] London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. 1859-5-14-823, 29.7 x 21 cm, c. 1520-1521: P. JOANNIDES, in FLORENCE, SAINT PETERSBURG 2000, pp. 120-122 cat. 18; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. 838r, 32.1 x 20.4 cm, 1524: P. RUSCHI, in FLORENCE 2007, pp. 70-71 cat. 16. There are various copies of this drawing: P. JOANNIDES, in FLORENCE, SAINT PETERSBURG 2000, pp. 123-125 cat. 19.

[88] DONI 1552-1553, ed. 1928, II, p. 22.

The terracottas also compare well with the two bronze *River Gods* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, which are based on a model by Michelangelo.[89]

If we accept a suggestion by Avery that these terracottas were indeed immediate reflections of Michelangelo's models from a period (the spring of 1523) preceding the known history of the sculptural decorations of the New Sacristy – although the history of the construction of the complex begins in 1519, no documents referring to its sculptural decoration are known before 1524. The *terminus ad quem* of the Trinity *River God* and *Bacchus* and of the other terracottas of the same type provided by the 1523 valuation, plus the strong formal affinities with Michelangelo's projects underway in San Lorenzo around the same time, not only suggest that this pair of terracottas is among the very earliest reflections of Michelangelo's sculptures in the New Sacristy.[90] The *River God* and *Bacchus* thus reveal the

[89] A.M. Massinelli, in Florence 1991, pp. 63-66; A. Cecchi, in Florence, Saint Petersburg 2000, pp. 88-89 cat. 5.

Figs. 34,35. Michelangelo, *The Day*, c. 1526-1531. Florence, San Lorenzo, New Sacristy;
Michelangelo (attributed to), *Drawing for the Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, duke of Nemours*, detail, 1524. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

thoughts and the sentiments of Florentine artists seeking to understand the innovations conceived by Michelangelo, and represent a pioneering reflection of the works in progress in the New Sacristy during the 1520s and 1530s. The intimate dialogue between the two small sculptures and Michelangelo evokes both the desire to possess a memory of the place and the marvel experienced by its visitors when beholding Michelangelo's revolutionary marbles. There is also reference to this in the same

Figs. 36,37. Michelangelo, *Model of a River God*, 1524. Florence, Casa Buonarroti; Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, c. 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art.

dialogue mentioned earlier, from Doni's *I marmi*, in which *Dawn* comes to life through a surprising act of the imagination.[91] During the Renaissance, the popularity enjoyed by allegories of rivers depended both on similar antique representations on sarcophagi, coins and gems, and – above all – on colossal reclining statues: the *Marforio* in the Capitoline Museums and the *Tigris* (transformed into *Tiber* after the mid 16th century) and the *Nile* in Piazza del Campidoglio. All these are

[90] Such affinities have already been noted by J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 cat. 2; Avery 1996, p. 779; A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101, *esp.* p. 208. Regard to the chronology of the New Sacristy, see Wallace 1994, pp. 87-90; Rosenberg 2000, pp. 127-145.

[91] Doni 1552-1553, ed. 1928, II, pp. 20-28.

documented already in the Middle Ages. But in 1512 and 1513 two more *River Gods* were discovered, the *Tiber* and the *Nile* (arranged as a pair in the Vatican Belvedere) and today separated, the *Tiber* being in the Louvre.[92] Another antique *River God*, today in the Museo Pio-Clementino, was restored between 1520 and the early 1530s as the *River Arno* at the behest of the Medici pope Clement VII. Marco Collareta has suggested that this restoration took place under the direction of Michelangelo. The *Arno* was transformed into a fountain, and joined the *Tiber* and the *Nile* in the Belvedere (figs. 38-39).[93] Furthermore, in the torsion of the reclining figures, intertwined like serpents as their cornucopias pour forth water, Sandro di Lorenzo seems to be paying tribute to the Laocoön,

[92] On the history of the iconography of Renaissance River Gods and their popularity in the Quattro and Cinquecento, cfr. HASKELL, PENNY 1981, pp. 258-259 cat. 57, 272-273 cat. 65, 310-311 cat. 69; RUBINSTEIN 1984; EADEM 1998; WINNER 1998; BOBER, RUBINSTEIN 2010, pp. 109-117 cat. 64-68; ELSE 2013.

[93] COLLARETA 1985.

Fig. 38. *River God Tiber*, Graeco-Roman colossal statue. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

rediscovered in Rome in 1506 (figs. 40-41). The Laocoön was the subject of a famous competition that took place between 1507 and 1508, one described by Vasari, organised by Bramante and judged by Raphael, to create the best copy of the group. [94] In addition to Sansovino, other artists who were Domenico Aimo da Varignana, Zaccaria Zacchi, and the Spanish Alonso Berruguete. Sansovino's model, which won the competition, was cast for Cardinal Domenico Grimani who bequeathed it to the Republic of Venice in 1523. This copy does not survive but we can gain an idea of its appearance from a bronze in the Bargello (fig. 41).[95] Morevoer, Bramante's competition recalls to mind that in 1523, several years after the antique's discovery, Sandro di Lorenzo was producing terracotta statuettes painted "in the

[94] VASARI 1550, 1568, ed. 1966-1997, VI [1987], p. 178.

[95] C. AVERY, in ATHENS 2003-2004, I [2004], p. 352 cat. VII.41; D. GASPAROTTO, in MANTUA 2008, p. 280 cat. VIII.6.

manner of bronze" ("*al modo di bronzo*"), including a Laocoön said to be three quarters of a *braccio* high (*c.* 43.5 cm), and his sons on the contrary half a *braccio* (*c.* 29 cm).[96]

As an indication of the popularity of the theme of the River God, we can cite several examples of 16th-century Florentine sculptors who embarked upon this subject:[97]

- Niccolò Tribolo in the stone *River God* for the villa of Cristoforo Rinieri at Castello, now (villa) Corsini (*c.* 1538);
- Bartolomeo Ammannati in the stone relief on the left of the *Triumphal Arch* in the courtyard of Palazzo Mantova Benavides in Padua (1545-1546), the marble statues of the *Arno* and the *Tiber* in the garden of Villa Giulia (*c.* 1555), the *Arno* for the Fountain of the Sala Grande in Palazzo Vecchio (1556-1561), and

[96] Butterfield, Franklin 1998, pp. 823-824 doc. III.

[97] There are numerous examples of this theme in 16th-century Florentine painting. For instance:
- Agnolo Bronzino, *River Gods*, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro (1530-1532);
- Francesco Salviati, *Allegory of the Arno, Florence, and the House of Medici* in the Sala delle Udienze in Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (1543-1545);
- Giovanni Stradano, *River Gods* in the ceiling of the Sala di Penelope in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (1555-1565);
- Giovanbattista Naldini, *River Gods*, formerly New York, Private collection (third quarter of the 16th-century)
- Alessandro Allori, *Allegory of the Arno and its Tributaries*, Uffizi, Florence (1581).
- Giorgio Vasari, *The Tiber Crowned by Rome*, Sala Altoviti, Palazzo Venezia, Rome (1553).

Fig. 39. *River God Nile*, colossal statue, copy of 2nd-century B.C.. Vatican, Musei Vaticani.

in the bronze relief with the *Allegories of the Arno and the Tiber* in a private collection (*c.* 1564);
- Pierino da Vinci in two reliefs, the bronze *Count Ugolino*, 1548/1549 (Vaduz-Vienna, Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections), and the marble *Cosimo I as a Patron of Pisa* (Vatican Museums);
- a Florentine sculptor close to Pierino or to Vincenzo Danti in the small bronze portraying the *Nile* in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (*c.* 1550);
- Stoldo Lorenzi in the marble relief of *Duke Cosimo I Accepting the Homage of the City of Florence*, 1555-1561, in the collections of the Earl of Leicester in Holkham Hall, Norfolk, conceived as a pendant to Pierino da Vinci's above-mentioned *Cosimo* in the Vatican;

Figs 40,41. Master of the Unruly Children (Sandro di Lorenzo ?), *River God*, *c.* 1523. London, Trinity Fine Art;
Jacopo Sansovino ?, *Laocoön*, *c.* 1507-1508 ?. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

- Santi Buglioni in the oval relief with a *River God* in glazed terracotta in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London (*c.* 1550);
- Lorenzo Naldini, called "il Guazzetto" in the bronze relief, attributed to him, with a *Battle Scene* in the Musée du Louvre (*c.* 1550);
- Battista Lorenzi in the sandstone statue of the *Mugnone* executed for the Salviati garden behind the Annunziata (*c.* 1580);
- Giambologna in his works of the 1570s and early 1580s: the terracotta of *Nile* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the *Mugnone* in Pratolino, for which there was a terracotta model in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin; two related stucco and wax *River Gods* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, once attributed to Tribolo, but which should probably be linked to the Flemish master; and in the marble personifications of the *Euphrates*, the *Ganges* and the *Nile* in the Boboli Fountain of the Ocean.

4. *"BENE FORMATO ET BENE COLORITO AD IMITATIONE DI VERO BRONZO"*. THE FUNCTION AND THE POSITION OF THE STATUETTES OF *RIVER GOD* AND *BACCHUS* IN THE HISTORY OF ITALIAN RENAISSANCE *KLEINPLASTIK*

The origin of the taste for small-scale statues in terracotta destined for domestic collecting can well be considered in the context of the time of the preachings of Savonarola (1494-1498) and during the period in which Piero Soderini was *Gonfaloniere* (1498-1512). These objects have strong civic connotations, since they reduced in scale celebrated models which could, thanks to them, be brought into the home.[98] They represented the Madonna and Child, Jesus Christ (infant and adult), St John the Baptist (infant and adult), St Jerome in the desert, the penitent Magdalene, St Michael, David and Judith.[99] Alongside, the production of secular objects also developed, the most popular subjects being *Riders trampling the Vanquished*, *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers*, personifications of *Wealth* (*Dovizia*), and death masks. While the collecting of small bronzes in the manner of Pollaiolo and Verrocchio[100] is already attested in the Quatttrocento, the value of these sculptures executed in precious materials meant that their diffusion was limited to the Medici and a very restricted circle.[101]

Thanks to the use of a less expensive material such as clay, there developed a wider production that could satisfy the demands of a rich and cultured Florentine bourgeoisie.

This particular way of treating the surface of clay sculpture as attested by the 1523 evaluation, leads to another observation. It is no coincidence that most of the known versions of *River Gods* and *Bacchus* exhibit fragmentary traces of the original colour imitating bronze (fig. 42: see List). Comparing documents and works, it is clear that the sculptures executed by the Master of the Unruly Children occupy a privileged position in early 16th-century Florentine art collecting. In a typically Florentine material, namely clay, rediscovered in Florence in the early 15th century, small-scale sculptures that succeeded in imitating bronzes were created, intended for private collections, and reaching – as is attested by the 1523 evaluation – a significant market value. This production of statuettes, in terra cruda and

[98] SCHIAPPARELLI 1908, pp. 184-194; LYDECKER 1987; FERRETTI 1992, pp. 40-42, 48; GENTILINI 1992, II, pp. 325-326; IDEM 1996b, pp. 90-91; PAOLETTI 1998; BELLANDI 2000; PISANI 2007; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, pp. 29, 148; MUSACCHIO 2008, pp. 229-243; BORMAND 2009; M. BORMAND, in AREZZO 2009, pp. 359-360 cat 101; C. CECCACCI, in Ibid., p. 359 cat. 100; F. DOMESTICI, in Ibid., p. 360 cat 102; EADEM, in Ibid., p. 360 cat. 103.

[99] *Judith*, in this case after Verrocchio, also appears in the valuation carried out by Tribolo and Solosmeo of the four sculptures by Sandro di Lorenzo: see above, pp. 15-16.

Fig. 42. Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, detail, *c.* 1523. Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts.

[100] A.M. MASSINELLI, in FLORENCE 1991, pp. 22-24, 26-39; KENSETH 1998; KLAPISCH-ZUBER 2013.

[101] See also pp. 12, 49-50

cotta and painted to resemble a noble material, such as bronze, represents an original and innovative development in the history of sculpture, and takes its place between the small Veneto bronzes by Riccio and the statuettes in metal by Giambologna. The remarkable role of imitating bronzes played by the statues of the Master of the Unruly Children has recently been placed in the context of the history of painted terracotta by Philippe Sénéchal, who has also emphasized the private use of these sculptures.[102]

[102] Sénéchal 2012, p. 31.

Traces of the 16th-century popularity of the statuettes of *Bacchus* and *River God* by the Master of the Unruly Children survive in a *Portrait of a Gentleman*, possibly Lorenzino de' Medici, painted by Francesco Salviati and now in the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 44).[103] In the background of this portrait is a personification of the River Arno, which, in addition to Michelangelo's reclining figure, seems to recall the terracottas under discussion here and implies their diffusion in the homes of the Florentine nobility (fig. 43).

[103] Seymour 1970; P. Costamagna, in Ottawa 2005, pp. 330-331 cat. 122. For our purposes, it is particularly interesting to call to mind the *Allegory of a River God* painted by Bronzino in the Villa Imperiale in Pesaro between 1530 and 1532, see Dal Poggetto 2004.

Figs. 43,44. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, c. 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro; Francesco Salviati, *Portrait of a Florentine Nobleman*, detail, 1546-1548, Saint Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase 415:1943.

The tradition – already widespread in the 16th century – of collecting small terracotta sculptures – both finished works as in our case, as well as models – is corroborated by Vasari who mentions the model of St James by Sansovino executed for the Duomo of Florence in the collection of Bindo Altoviti.[104] In the first half of the 16th century also Michelangelo's models were collected.[105]

[104] T. Mozzati, in Boston, Florence 2004, pp. 385-390 cat. 11-11a.

The *River God* and the *Bacchus* were thus able to respond to a

[105] O'Grody 1999; Ragionieri 2000. See also, above, pp. 41-42.

similar requirement in collecting: the 16th century saw the advent of terracotta statuettes painted "to imitate real bronze" ("ad imitatione di vero bronzo"),[106] so that a much wider public, at a greatly reduced cost, had access to and could acquire such objects. The impact of this innovation must have been not dissimilar to the discovery of the ceramic glaze by the Della Robbia, which could imitate and even surpass marble sculptures both in its formal characteristics and luminosity, at lower cost and with a greatly increased ease of transport.[107]

The discovery of the small statues imitating bronze through the use of clay fully corroborates the Pliny's words, echoed by Ghiberti in his *I Commentarii* on the working of clay: "He extols again, Varro, Ofilius and approves of the work in clay most marvellously. And calls the working of clay the mother of the art of statuary, or rather, sculpture" ("Loda ancora, Varone, Ofitile e ne commenda el lavore di creta molto maravigliosamente. E chiama il lavorare di creta madre della arte statuaria, overo di scultura").[108] Revived by Ghiberti, Donatello and Brunelleschi, after being abandoned in the Middle-Ages[109], the art of terracotta was reborn, due to this new use of the imitation of bronze in the early 16th century. As well as in Florence, only in cities like Padua and Mantua, in which the passion for bronze was particularly widespread, could a similar technique have already been developed by the time of Mantegna and Riccio.[110] Now not only the "movements of the soul" ("moti dell'animo") could be better rendered – as in the case of Guido Mazzoni[111] – but also the metal could be simulated thanks to clay.

This recognition of the expressive power of clay, in addition to the low costs of its production, opened the doors to the critical re-evaluation of the art of terracotta. Following the 'rediscovery' of terracotta by Luciano Bellosi,[112] and the influential exhibition *La civiltà del cotto*[113] and the publication dedicated to the theme by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure[114] and after the international interest aroused by the exhibitions *Fingerprints of the artist* (Washington, New York and Cambridge, 1979-1981)[115] curated by Charles Avery and *Earth & Fire* (Houston, London, 2001-2002),[116] in which Bruce Boucher, Peta Motture and Anthony Radcliffe partecipated, more recently critics such as Marc

[106] Butterfield, Franklin 1998, p. 824 doc. III. See also above, pp. 12, 15.

[107] Gentilini 2013. The practice of coating terracotta with plaster and white lead in imitation of marble was already employed by Donatello in the monumental statue of *Joshua* made in 1410 for a north buttress of the Cathedral of Florence: cfr., Bellosi 1989, pp. 130-131; Bensi 1996, p. 34.

[108] Ghiberti c. 1447-1455, ed. 1998, p. 54 (I, VI.2).

[109] Bellosi 1977, p. 167; Gentilini 1980; Bellandi 2000, pp. 187-189.

[110] Sénéchal 2012. As highlighted by the scholar, the first examples known in central Italy are indeed testified to by the works of Rustici, who had contact with Sandro di Lorenzo.

[111] Regard of the movement of the soul, see Alberti 1435, ed. 1966, pp. 77-78. Concerning this problem in the works of Guido Mazzoni, see Lugli 1990.

[112] Bellosi 1977; Idem 1989

[113] Impruneta 1980. Cfr. also Impruneta 2009.

[114] Vaccari 1996.

[115] Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981; New York 1981.

[116] Houston, London 2001.

Bormand, Maria Grazia Vaccari,[117] Giancarlo Gentilini,[118] and Philippe Sénéchal[119] have shown an increased interest in the characteristics of a versatile material like terracotta. Nowadays, following the definitive critical acceptance of clay employed in imitation of metal, as seen in the *Bacchus* and the *River God* examined here, terracotta sculpture has gained a new dignity and once again occupies a place hitherto ignored in the fields of study and collecting.

As well as satisfying the specific demands of collectors, the circulation of these objects is associated with the tradition of giving gifts on the occasion of weddings and childbirth, a common custom in the society of the time.[120] In this context, the best known examples are the childbirth trays or salvers ("deschi da parto") which were popular in the first half of the 15th century. One of the most significant examples can be found in the painting *Youths playing Civettino* ("*Il gioco del civettino*") in the Palazzo Davanzati attributed to Giovanni di ser Giovanni, called "lo Scheggia", brother of Masaccio, which bears on its reverse the image of two fighting nude children (*c.* 1455).[121] This theme, probably alluding to fertility, is the subject that was successfully translated into sculpture thanks to the Master of the Unruly Children, who owes his name to this particular iconographic specialisation (figs. 22-23, 31).[122]

Also allegories alluding to abundance and fertility were offered as propitiatory tidings: statuettes like *Wealth* (*Dovizia*) by Giovanni della Robbia – whose domestic function is demonstrated by the inscription "Gloria et Divitia in domo tua"[123] – but also representations of fruits and vegetables were created individually, as well as in baskets.[124]

The statuettes of *River Gods* and *Bacchus* also present the theme of prosperity. In these twelve examples, figures rest on the naked earth, irrigated by the liquid pouring forth from their vases and cornucopias, alluding to the telluric richness of the soil, a theme already widely developed in antiquity. The figures portrayed here display various attributes associated with prosperity, such as cornucopias overflowing with fruits, vegetables, or liquids, and are represented with casks of wine and bunches of grapes.[125]

It is thus clear that even these objects served an auspicious purpose, and this would explain their destination for domestic

[117] Bormand, Vaccari 2010; Bormand 2011; Vaccari 2012.

[118] Gentilini 2012.

[119] Sénéchal 2012.

[120] Klapisch-Zuber 1985, pp. 310-329; Eadem 1998; Musacchio 1999; Syson, Thornton 2001, pp. 37-77; Musacchio 2006; Eadem 2008; New York, Fort Worth 2008.

[121] Musacchio 1999, p. 127; Eadem, in New York, Fort Worth 2008, pp. 157-158 cat. 71; Musacchio 2008, p. 233; Klapisch-Zuber 2011. On the theme of fighting children, cfr. Schiaparelli 1908, p. 191; Ferretti 1992; Faietti 2000. This theme is well documented in Renaissance sculpture. See, for instance, Ghiberti's frame of the South Door of the Baptistery, where Cain and Abel are portrayed fighting at Adam's feet. The balustrade in the Holy House of Loreto depicts, instead, pairs of children captured in more serene and playful attitudes.

[122] Three examples can be ascribed to him: Berlin, Bode-Museum; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Turin, with Giancarlo Gallino: see *Children, Fighting*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[123] J. M. Musacchio, in New York, Fort Worth 2008, pp. 118-119 cat. 48; F. Domestici, in Arezzo 2009, p. 360 cat. 102

[124] Schiaparelli 1908, pp. 186 note 1; Mozzati, Gentilini 2009.

[125] See also p. 11 and note 3 and list: C, 1 and 2 .

Fig. 45. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum.

use.[126] However, in their aspiration to simulate bronze and in the novel interpretation of a new model, they reflected the latest trends in collecting at the time.[127] While the Della Robbia *Wealth* (*Dovizia*) still harks back to the version Donatello sculpted for the Mercato Vecchio (*c.* 1430), the Master of the Unruly Children introduced to small-format statuary the unsettling innovations of Michelangelo's reclining statues in the New Sacristy.

[126] See also above, p. 48.

[127] See also pp. 12, 48-50.

5. THE *RIVER GOD* AND THE *BACCHUS* IN THE HISTORY AND CRITICISM OF 16TH CENTURY ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

Scholarship regarding the statuettes representing *River God* and *Bacchus* is complex and its history worth considering. It begins with Leo Planiscig, who first published a *River God*, then in the Viennese collection of Rudolph Berl and now in Karlsruhe (fig. 45; cat. A), in his monumental *Venezianische*

Fig. 46. Jacopo Sansovino, *Bozzetto of St John the Evangelist*, *c.* 1550. Berlin, Bode-Museum.

Bildhauer der Renaissance (Vienna, 1921). Planiscig attributed it to Jacopo Sansovino and dated it around 1555 on the basis of a comparison with the sculptor's reclining figures in the bronze door of the Sacristy of St Mark's (*c.* 1545 – *c.* 1569) and with his *Neptune* in the Scala dei Giganti in the Palazzo Ducale (1554-1567).[128] Planiscig also pointed out certain affinities with Tiziano Minio's marble reliefs on the façade of the Loggetta in the Piazza San Marco, designed and decorated by Sansovino

[128] PLANISCIG 1921, p. 373. On the *Sacristy door*, see BOUCHER 1991, I, pp. 65-68, II, pp. 331-332 cat. 23 (with previous literature); for the *Neptune* Ibid., I, pp. 136-141, II, pp. 341-342 cat. 35 (with previous literature).

and his workshop in the early 1540s and with the bronze doorknocker by Alessandro Vittoria in Palazzo Pisani.[129] To these, more plausible comparisons can be added. There are obvious similarities with the four bronze Evangelists of the altar of St Mark's (1550-1552)[130] and Sansovino's terracotta *bozzetto* of St *John the Evangelist* in the Bode-Museum, Berlin (fig. 46). The physiognomy of the former Berl/Karlsruhe *River God*, with its frowning forehead, the long full beard covering the mouth, the flowing hair framing both sides of the face, and the small round eyes turned downwards, find interesting parallels in the late production of the Sansovino workshop, as, for instance, the *River Gods* and the *Allegories* in the arches of the Biblioteca Marciana – attributed to Ammannati,[131] Danese Cattaneo,[132] and Alessandro Vittoria.[133]

[129] PLANISCIG 1921, pp. 396, 477. Regarding the marbles of the Loggetta, see BOUCHER 1991, I, pp. 80-81, 83-85, II, pp. 334-335 cat. 27 (with previous literature).

[130] BOUCHER 1991, I, pp. 64-65, II, pp. 333-334 cat. 26.

[131] KINNEY 1976, pp. 83-108.

[132] BALDISSIN MOLLI 2013, pp. 43-44.

[133] ATTARDI 1998, pp. 17-19; LEITHE-JASPER 1999, p. 16.

Figs. 47,48. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz;
Master of the Unruly Children and unknown modern sculptor (the head), *Bacchus*, *c.* 1523. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz.

The second fundamental episode in the history of the criticism of the type represented by the Trinity pair occurred only three years after Planiscig's publication. In 1924, Albert Erich Brinckmann published the second volume of his influential *Barock-Bozzetti*,[134] in the very first pages of which he includes the former Berl/Karlsruhe *River God* and a *Bacchus*. Brinckmann identified the latter – now in Detroit (cat. B) – as part of the collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, to which it has, however, never belonged: an undated marginal note in the copy of Brinckmann's volume in the library of the Bode-Museum informs us that the *Bacchus* reproduced by Brinckmann was not in the Berlin museum but that it (or a similar version ["od(er) ähnl(iches) Ex(em)pl(ar)"]) was in the Berlin art market.[135] Not only did Brinckmann accept Planiscig's attribution of the *River*

[134] BRINCKMANN 1923-1924, II, [1924], pp. 12-15 and plates 4-5.

[135] I am grateful to Volker Krahn for sending me this note, which had already been referred to by BOUCHER 1991, II, p. 372 cat. 118 note 1, who did not, however, cite the note correctly.

God but he also applied it to the *Bacchus*. In doing so, he referred to a similar pair that he asserted was in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London with the inv. nos. 32715-32716.[136] He also recorded a similar pair of bronzes in the Louvre with a provenance from the collection of Adolphe Thiers (figs. 49-50).[137] These are reproduced as engravings in a catalogue of the Thiers donation.[138] Another bronze pair of this type was bequeathed by the last duke of Richelieu to the Université de Paris in 1952 and is today in the Chancellerie des universités de Paris.[139] Two terracotta versions of the type of the Thiers *Bacchus* appeared recently in the art market.[140] This other series of statuettes, which are probably of French 18th-century origin, reveal a style that is more advanced in comparison to the terracottas examined here, particularly in the definition of the

[136] The *River Gods* in the Victoria and Albert Museum are probably the same as those with Böhler in Munich in 1966. See pp. 60-62. There appears to be no trace in the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London of the River Gods mentioned by Brinckmann and Weihrauch. As Peta Motture, who I thank, has informed me, the numbers cited by Brinckmann do not seem to relate to the numbering of the Fitzhenry loans. The closest reference was to 'Two terracotta figures' on 27 November 1901, nos. 908-984, file ref 449/11.

[137] Brinckmann 1923-1924, II, [1924], p. 15. The two bronzes are currently in store and their relative inventory numbers are: TH 97 et TH 98. I am grateful to Philippe Malgouyres for this information. Sénéchal 2007, p. 239 cat. SR. 37b, thought that these bronze sculptures could be "un travail italien du debut du XVIIe siècle".

[138] Blanc 1884, pp. 16, 30.

Figs 49,50. French Sculptor ?, *Bacchus*, third quarter of the 18th-century. Paris, Chancellerie des Universités de Paris; French Sculptor ?, *Bacchus*, third quarter of the 18th-century. Paris, Chancellerie des Universités de Paris.

facial features. Nevertheless, the affinities with the works discussed here in the composition of the figures and the significant analogies in the treatment of the anatomy – particularly as far as the abdomen is concerned – illustrate the success of the *River God* and the *Bacchus* by the Master of the Unruly Children well beyond the Cinquecento and outside of Italy (figs. 47-48).

On 25 July 1927, Giovanni Bordiga, a member of the committee appointed to honour the four hundredth anniversary of Sansovino's nomination as *Proto di San Marco* (Comitato per le Onoranze sansoviniane), first wrote to Rudolf Berl in Vienna to ask for the loan of his terracotta for an exhibition of works by Sansovino (*Mostra di opere sansoviniane*) planned in Venice later that year. Although this exhibition was initially postponed and

[139] I am grateful to Laëtitia Villaume of the Réctorat de l'académie, Chancellerie des universités de Paris for this information.

[140] Christie's 2000, II, lot 218; Christie's 2010, lot 278: both the sculptures were given a French attribution and dated to the third quarter of the 18th century.

[141] The Committee printed only one volume, *Itinerario sansoviniano a Venezia*: see Lorenzetti 1929. The commemorations were also mentioned in an article that appeared in 1929 in *Rivista di Venezia* (Le onoranze 1929).

[142] Archive of the Badisches Landesmuseum of Karlsruhe, HA BLM [Hausarchiv Badisches Landesmuseum] Karlsruhe, Akte 2200 (7961.713) Zentralfondserwerbungen D - F bis 1968. Letter from Giovanni Bordiga to Rudolf Berl, Venice, 25 July 1927; letter from Giovanni Bordiga to Rudolf Berl, Venice, 26 April 1928; letter from Bordiga 6 July 1928 , Bordiga was president of the Comitato per le Onoranze Sansoviniane, and he published in 1929 an article on the activity of Tatti in Venice: see BORDIGA 1929. I thank Guido Linke and Katharina Siefert of the Badisches Landesmuseum for allowing me access to the documentation on the sculpture in their museum and for giving me permission to refer here to these letters.

then cancelled,[141] the relevant documentation of this loan request, preserved in the Archive of the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, is a testimony to the consideration enjoyed by the ex Berl version among scholars immediately after its publication.[142] In 1929, the *Bolletino d'arte* published the illustration of a *River God*, to which exportation was granted by the Soprintendenza of Venice. Thanks to this photograph, I was able to identify it with a version today in the Fine Arts Museums in San Francisco (fig. 51; cat. C).[143]

Fig. 51. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God* or *Allegory of the Seasons*, c. 1523. San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

[143] BOLLETTINO D'ARTE 1929, p. 572. A photo of this is in the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, *Phototek, Sculpt. Renaiss., Jacopo Sansovino: Ausland, Unbekannt, Zeichnungen*, inv. 139910. The photo arrived in the Institute on 6 October 1954. The sculpture was sold to the M. H. de Young Museum on 12 August 1938 by "Dr. S. Aram, New York". I am grateful to Douglas DeFors, FAMSF, for this information.

In his 1935 monograph on Sansovino, Weihrauch[144] noted a passage in Tommaso Temanza's biography of Sansovino, published in 1752 and in 1778, in which the writer refers to a model of a *River God* in the Paduan residence of the Mantova Benavides family. According to Temanza, this had belonged to Marco Mantova Benavides, a distinguished 16th-century jurist.[145] Temanza's observation suggested to Weihrauch a possible association with Sansovino. In the wake of Brickmann, Weihrauch listed, in addition to the Berl version, the one said by

Brinckmann to be in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, and the London pair. But he pointed out that Brinckmann had been mistaken on two accounts. Firstly, the Kaiser-Friedrich never owned such a terracotta. As is implied by the above-mentioned marginal note in Brinckmann's book in the Bode-Museum, the Detroit *River God* was in the Berlin art market and is probably identical with one said by Weihrauch to have been in 1930 with the Berlin art dealer Nebehay, (and today in Detroit; cat. B). The latter can be identified as Gustav Nebehay, an art dealer active

[144] Weihrauch 1935, pp. 75-76 and note 192.

[145] Temanza 1752, p. 49. Temanza declares: "Messer Marco Mantova excellent advocate, and who calls Sansovino *rare and singular*, bequeathed to posterity a model of a river, which was kept in their house in Padua" ("Messer Marco Mantova eccellente giureconsulto, e che solea chiamare il Sansovino *raro e singolare*, lasciò a suoi posteri un modello di un fiume, che peranche conservasi in Padova in casa loro").

in Leipzig, Vienna and Berlin, friend and dealer of Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele, who died in 1935.[146] Secondly, Weihrauch informed us that the Victoria and Albert Museum's ownership of a pair of similar sculptures had only been temporary as they were a loan from the Fitzhenry collection.[147] Weihrauch also knew the two Thiers bronzes and the version published in the 1929 *Bollettino d'arte*.

In 1936, the Berl *River God* was included in an exhibition curated by Ernst Kris and Leo Planiscig, held at the Kunsthistorisches

Fig. 52. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. Providence, Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design.

[146] Nebehay 1983.

[147] Weihrauch 1935, p. 76 note 192.

Museum in Vienna and entitled *Bozzetti und Modelletti der Spätrenaissance und des Barock*.[148]

In his biographical note dedicated to Sansovino in 1938,[149] Weihrauch insisted on Sansovino's authorship of the terracottas, and dated them around the middle of the Cinquecento. Here he again referred to the Berl, but also to other, unspecified, versions in the art market.

In 1946, the *River God* first published by Brinckmann in 1924, was again attributed to Sansovino on the occasion of its presentation as a new acquisition of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Prior to its arrival in the American museum, the sculpture was with the New York dealer Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co (cat. B).[150]

[148] VIENNA 1936, p. 6 cat. 7. The Berl *River God* is also mentioned in the review of the exhibition published in *The Burlington Magazine*: see FROELICH-BUME 1937, p. 133.

[149] WEIHRAUCH 1938.

[150] RICHARDSON 1946; A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101, *esp.* p. 206.

Fig. 53. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God* or *Allegory of the Seasons*, c. 1523. Formerly Munich, Julius Böhler Gallery.

Later important moments in the research history of the terracottas of River Gods and of Bacchus are reflected in the changes of ownership of three versions – changes, which have hitherto eluded the attention of scholarship. On 4 December 1956, a pair of *River Gods*, the property of an anonymous owner, were put up for sale at the London branch of Sotheby's in New Bond Street.[151] They are again documented with Julius Böhler in 1966. One of them is today in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (figs. 53-54; cat. 1-2).[152]

In the 1956 auction catalogue entry it is noted that the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence possessed a "smaller and less highly finished terracotta version of

[151] FORTHCOMING SALES 1956, p. 423; SOTHEBY'S 1956, lot 101.

[152] See also below, pp. 60-62.

one of these River Gods, attributed by Wittkower to Sansovino".[153] Indeed, in a rare anonymous booklet published in 1956 by the Providence museum, the Providence *River God* is attributed to Sansovino (fig. 52).[154]

On 8 December 1959, the heirs of the collector and scholar Charles Loeser consigned some works from his collection, which had been housed at the Florentine villa Torri Gattaia, near San Miniato al Monte, for auction with Sotheby's (fig. 55).

Fig. 54. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God or Allegory of the Seasons*, c. 1523. Munich, Bayerische Nationalmuseum.

Among these was a *Bacchus* attributed to Jacopo Sansovino, correctly associated in the catalogue with the sculpture mentioned by Brinckmann in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin and today in Detroit (cat. B).[155] According to the price list inserted in a version of the auction catalogue today in the Fondazione Zeri in Bologna, this terracotta was acquired by a certain "Charles" for 400 pounds.[156] This is the first appearance of a *Bacchus* that would later be published by Weihrauch in

[153] Sotheby's 1956, lot 101. I am grateful to Maureen O'Brien, of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, for confirming that the attribution to Sansovino by Wittkower is noted in the files of the museum.

[154] Treasures 1956, n.p. reference (but see 14). A photo of the Providence sculpture exists in the Fototeca Zeri (entry n. 83869), where it is attributed to Giambologna.

[155] Forthcoming Sales 1959, p. 473; Sotheby's 1959, lot 161. See also below, pp. 65-66.

[156] I am grateful to Davide Ravaioli from the Fondazione Zeri in Bologna for this information.

[157] Weihrauch 1965, pp. 267 fig. 5, 270.

1965.[157] A mention of the Loeser *Bacchus* is also found in the November 1959 edition of *The Connoisseur*.[158]

On 19 April 1960,[159] the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe acquired from the London art dealer M. H. Drey the ex Berl *River God* as Sansovino, and published it thereafter many times with the same attribution.[160]

In an important 1965 article on the problem of Italian bronzes as inspiration for German goldsmiths, Weihrauch briefly discusses a *River God* (fig. 53) and a *Bacchus* (fig. 55) which he still counts among Sansovino's works and then dates to the 1540s. [161] The former was with Böhler, the latter with the art historian Millard Meiss, although Weihrauch does not mention more than that the former was probably in the art market, and the latter certainly, we know the respective owners of these pieces thanks to notes in the files of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.[162]

The Böhler *River God* illustrated in 1965 by Weihrauch must be one of the two terracottas that had appeared for sale at Sotheby's in London in 1956. Its later history, which we shall

Fig. 55. Master of the Unruly Children, *Bacchus*, *c.* 1523. Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum.

[158] Connoisseur, 1959, p. IV (advertisement).

[159] I found information on the acquisition in the folder of this sculpture in the Archive of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

[160] Schnellbach 1964, p. 55; Petrasch 1966, cat. 98; Petrasch 1968, cat. G 162; Schroeder 1976, p. 69 cat. 69; Petrasch 1976, cat. 196; Grimm 1993, p. 189.

[161] Weihrauch 1965, p. 270.

[162] This information is contained in the files relating to our cat. A in the list and preserved in the archives of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. I would like to thank Jens Burk, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, for his help

try to reconstruct here, is of special interest as it was separated from its pendant. Two *River Gods* included in a 1966 Böhler catalogue are said to come from an English private collection.[163] As these two sculptures are identical with those illustrated in the 1956 London Sotheby's catalogue, we can establish their provenance back to that date. They could well be the Fitzhenry pair, the only pair ever recorded before 1996. Moreover, the other two pairs known to the present day, with Katz (cat. 3-4) and Trinity (cat. 5-6) respectively, have Florentine provenances,[164] whereas that of the Böhler terracottas is English.

[163] MUNICH 1966, p. 19 cat. 48-49: other similar terracotta figures of *River Gods* are mentioned as being in Karlsruhe and in San Francisco. Cfr. also WELLENSIEK 1966, p. 635.

[164] I received the information from the photographic archive of a Florentine scholar. Also A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101, *esp.* 208, mentions the Florentine provenance. See also List, cat. 3-4

Fig. 56. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, c. 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

Finally, this hypothesis is enforced by Brinckmann's remark that one of the London statuettes was "very much damaged".[165] And, indeed, the Munich version, which was with Böhler in 1966 (when it was still with its pendant) is missing its right leg. In 1977 Böhler published another catalogue where now only one member of the pair was presented, that which is today in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.[166] The 1977 Böhler catalogue asserted that after both terracottas were with Böhler in 1966 the *River God* that was eventually acquired by the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum had been in a Swiss private collection from

[165] BRINCKMANN 1923-1924, II, [1924], p. 13

[166] MUNICH 1977, cat. 47.

where obviously Böhler re-acquired it before 1977. According to the back of a photograph of the terracotta now in Munich and a further source in the files in Munich, this re-acquisition by Böhler occurred between 1973 and 1974.[167] In the same 1977 Böhler catalogue it is stated that the pendant to the Munich *River God* was in an anonymous private collection in the United States. In the 1979 acquisition-formular of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum this piece is still said to be in the United States. In the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum files relating to the Munich version there are also two photographs of these sculptures, both of which are marked "Wertheimer" on the back, but only one of

[167] Information found in documentation in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. In MUNICH 1977, cat. 47, it is in fact mentioned that the other *River God* formerly in MUNICH 1966, p. 19 cat. 48 was at that time in an America private collection.

Fig. 57. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, *c.* 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

them, that of the version documented in the 1970s in the United States and still missing today, bears an indication of the price: "D[eutsche] M[ark] 12000." "Wertheimer" could be the Paris dealer Otto Wertheimer but a passage of the pair through him is not otherwise documented. Since the only German owner of the pair was Böhler, the most likely explanation of this annotation is that Böhler had bought either one of the pieces or both from Wertheimer after their London sale in 1956.[168]

It eventually ended up in Munich (27 June 1979) as a gift of the Freundeskreis of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Hans Robert Weihrauch, who had

[168] See also above, pp. 58-59.

retired in 1974, and was purchased for 48,000 Marks.[169] The whereabouts of its pendant remain unknown.

Meanwhile, in 1972, the Princeton terracotta, which at the time belonged to the scholar Millard Meiss, was published in the catalogue of the exhibition *European and American Art from Princeton Alumni Collections*,[170] which took place a good twenty years before Meiss bequeathed it to Princeton museum. A note on the mount of a photograph of this work in the Photothek of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence indicates that around 1962 it was with Marcello Guidi.[171] Meiss therefore acquired it after that date.

A decisive turn in the history of scholarship on the River God and Bacchus groups occured in 1981 thanks to Charles Avery,[172] who, examining the *Madonna and Child* then in the New York collection of Arthur M. Sackler, where it was to remain until 2010,[173] astutely added this group of terracottas to the oeuvre of the Master of the Unruly Children, created by Wilhelm Bode in 1890[174] when the great scholar grouped some sculptures in Berlin, London, and in Florence. Bode considerd the unknown master a follower of Donatello, active in Florence around the middle of the 15th century. Although during the course of the 20th century[175] scholars reassigned the activity of the master to the early 16th century, and pointed out that he was influenced by Leonardo da Vinci and Rustici, there were no further additions to the works Bode had singled out until 1981, when Avery concluded: "It is unlikely that a sculptor as competent as the Master of the Unruly Children restricted himself to producing such a limited range of subjects, and the particular group from which he derives his nickname is probably only one facet of a more extensive activity".[176] Avery therefore added to his repertoire the two *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers* in the Palazzo Vecchio, at one time in the Loeser collection,[177] and some of the statuettes of *Bacchus* and *River Gods*, with which we have dealt in this article. In particular, Avery made reference to the Detroit version, the Böhler/Munich terracotta, and the *River God* in the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence. Avery's contribution convincingly assigned these works – which until then had been always considered Sansovinesque and Venetian – to a Florentine context, and suggested that the production of the master took

[169] Information found in documentation in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Regarding its arrival at the Bavarian museum, cfr.: KRISS-RETTENBECK 1980, p. 290; MÜLLER-MEHLIS 1980, p. 1747.

[170] F. GIBBONS, in PRINCETON 1972, p. 16, cat. 10.

[171] Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Phototek, *Sculpt. Renaiss., Jacopo Sansovino: Ausland, Unbekannt, Zeichnungen*, inv. 173105. The photo came to the Institute on 9 March 1962.

[172] C. AVERY, in WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, CAMBRIDGE 1981, pp. 46-49 cat. 9; J.D. DRAPER 1981, in NEW YORK 1981, p. 13 cat. 7. Avery, in a possible oversight, citing BRINCKMANN 1923-1924, II, [1924], in addition to the terracottas in Karlsruhe (plate 4) and Detroit (plate 5) also adds another from a later catalogue, (plate 6), related to a *River God* which in Brinckmann's time was in the Roman collection of Ludwig Pollak, and today in the Palazzo Venezia (GIOMETTI 2011, p. 35 cat. 6). This statue, as Brinckmann had already noted, had nothing to do with the cohesive group of *Bacchus* and *River God* examined here and might be Northern Italian terracotta from the 1600s. See below, note 185.

[173] SOTHEBY'S 2010, lot 418.

[174] See also above, p. 20.

[175] See also above, pp. 20, 22. For a synthesis that is still valid and a chronological contextualisation of its development: FERRETTI 1992.

[176] C. AVERY, in WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, CAMBRIDGE 1981, p. 48.

[177] M.G. VACCARI, in FLORENCE 2010, pp. 280-282 cat. 11-12.

place near or perhaps even in the same workshop as that of Rustici – who around 1510 made the Bargello and Louvre *Battles*.[178] The works of the master were inspired by the studies made by Leonardo for the *Battle of Anghiari* (1503-1504) but show an awareness of Michelangelo's *Liegefiguren* for the New Sacristy (*c.* 1524-1531).[179] And indeed, although there are analogies between the statuettes and the facial type, long hair and full beards of many a Sansovino sculpture, they compare better

Fig. 58. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

with the treatment, anatomy, modelling, and the nervous arrangement of the drapery of the raging figures in the Palazzo Vecchio,[180] Moscow,[181] and Katz[182] terracotta *Battles* (figs. 11-14, 17, 19), which were attributed by Avery to the Master of the Unruly Children.

Ten years later, in his Sansovino monograph,[183] Bruce Boucher definitively removed the Detroit *Bacchus*, the Karlsruhe, and the Munich *River Gods* from the catalogue of Sansovino.[184]

[178] EADEM, ibid., pp. 244-249 cat. 3-4.

[179] See also pp. 12, 22, 25, 41-43, 49.

[180] M.G. VACCARI, in FLORENCE 2010, pp. 280-282 cat. 11-12.

[181] MOZZATI 2008, p. 46.

[182] SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 236 cat. SR. 33.

[183] BOUCHER 1991, I, pp. 371-372 cat. 118; 374-375 cat. 125-126.

A year later Massimo Ferretti followed Avery and credited the unknown master with the Loeser *Battles*, the Providence *River God*, and the Detroit *Bacchus*, suggesting, however, that they were to be ascribed "to obviously later dates" (*a date evidentemente più mature*) in the artist's oeuvre.[185]

In 1992[186] the catalogue of the Galleria Franchetti at the Ca' d'Oro in Venice noted the existence of a *River God* (figs. 56-59) attributed to Sansovino bought in 1964 from the Venetian art dealer Ettore Viancini. A photo of this is in the archives bequeathed by his heirs to the Fondazione Giorgio Cini.[187] The work was not published in a photo, however, and remains unknown. It is here that it is illustrated for the first time and associated with the Master of the Unruly Children.

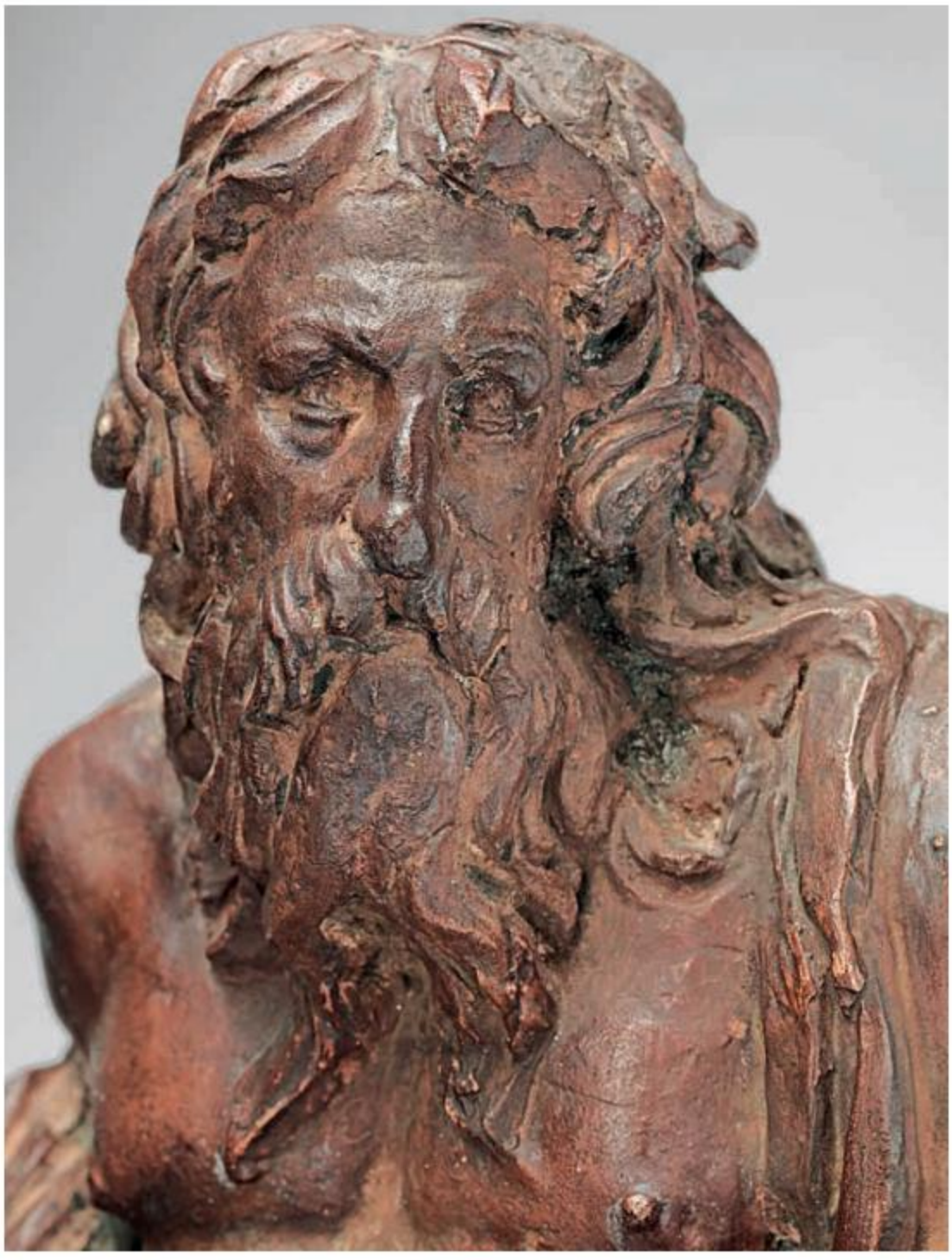

Fig. 59. Master of the Unruly Children, *River God*, detail, *c.* 1523. Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

In 1995 the *Bacchus* which was once owned by Charles Loeser, later by Marcello Guidi, and finally by Millard Meiss, was given by Meiss to the Princeton University Art Museum, and was duly

[184] It is interesting that Boucher also suggested a Tribolo attribution for the Detroit terracotta on the basis of a comparison with two *River Gods* in the Bargello traditionally attributed to Niccolò Tribolo, which should, instead, be attributed to Giambologna and dated to around 1580 (see also above, p. 46).

[185] Ferretti 1992, p. 45, correctly accepts the terracottas of Providence and Detroit and excludes the one formerly in the Pollak collection, published in Brinckmann 1923-1924, II, [1924], pp. 16-17 and plate 6: on this issue see also above, note 172.

[186] Moschini Marconi 1992, p. 112. In the documentation regarding the Karlsruhe statuette, we find two photos of the Viancini *River God*, with a stamp on the back from the exportation office in Venice 12/5/1964 and a note dated 22 May 1967, confirming that the statuette would soon be shown in the Ca' d'Oro.

[187] Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Fondo Viancini, inv. SD Viancini_ S21_6. See also cat. F . I would like to thank Monica Bassanello and Simone Gueriero, of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

noted in the *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* from that year with a generic attribution "Italian, 16th century".[188] It is interesting that the first collector of the Princeton *Bacchus* was Loeser, one of the most demanding collectors of small-scale terracotta sculptures and the owner of the two *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers* in the Palazzo Vecchio, which he attributed to Rustici in an article in *The Burlington Magazine* following an opinion by Giacomo De Nicola.[189]

In 1996, in a biographical entry in the *Dictionary of Art* dedicated to the unknown sculptor, Avery again advanced the idea previously proposed in 1981 in the exhibition of the Sackler terracottas and claimed that the River Gods which make up the series "are reworkings of Michelangelo's models and drawings of the 1520s for the unexecuted River Gods intended for the tombs in his New Sacristy in S. Lorenzo, Florence".[190]

The group of terracottas which had not yet been reunited encountered no significant mentions until 1996, when an unknown pair of the series was exhibited at the Daniel Katz Gallery. In the catalogue entry, Johannes Auersperg suggests a direct reference to Rustici and an earlier dating, and wittily hypothesized that we can see in these terracottas "archetypes of the *Rivergods* which with Florentine sculptors, such as Ammannati and Giambologna, were to become an established part of the Mannerist fountain a full generation later".[191] 1998 was instead the year of the publication of the previously mentioned archive documents, which related the valuation, by Tribolo and Solosmeo, of a *Bacchus* reclining on a wine cask executed in terracotta by the little-known sculptor Sandro di Lorenzo di Smeraldo. Indeed, Butterfield and Franklin, responsible for the discovery, compared the series very carefully with the document, paying particular attention to the version in the Institute of Arts in Detroit.[192] The references to Sansovino and Tribolo and the possibility of relating the 1523 document to the sculpture in Detroit, assume greater significance when we recall that the artists consulted for the valuation of the sculptures – Giovanfrancesco Rustici, Solosmeo and Tribolo – were three important protagonists in the Florentine art world of the early 16th century and their cultural coordinates can be linked to the *Bacchus* in Detroit. The first was a teacher and a great friend of

[188] Acquisitions of The Art Museum 1995, p. 47.

[189] De Nicola 1916, p. 177 nota 22; Loeser 1928, p. 271. See also above, p. 59.

[190] Avery 1996, p. 779.

[191] J. Auersperg, in in New York, London 1996, p. 10 cat. 2.

[192] Butterfield, Franklin 1998.

Jacopo,[193] while both Solosmeo and Tribolo were, as Vasari reminds us,[194] pupils of Sansovino. Such a coincidence in the proposed attribution to Sansovino, and the presence of three artists very closely associated with Sansovino's Florentine period in the 1523 document, provides weight to the view that the sculptor of this statuette and the model are to be found in this close-knit milieu.

The Katz Gallery in 2002 republished the *River God* alone as by Rustici, with a date close to the *Praying* St *John the Baptist* from the Baptistery in Florence, unveiled in 1511, and suggested many affinities with the style of Leonardo da Vinci.[195] In the same year, Alan Phipps Darr attributed the Detroit *Bacchus* to a Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati, and also made reference to the *River* in San Francisco, the *Bacchus* in the Princeton University Art Museum, and the *Bacchus* formerly with Marcello Guidi, Florence,[196] not realising that the Princeton terracotta and the Guidi version were actually the same sculpture. Of the more recent contributions, we should refer to a 2004 entry on the Master of the Unruly Children by Alfredo Bellandi.[197] Here, in addition to accepting Avery's proposal of ascribing these works to the repertoire of the artist, Bellandi proposed, on the basis of a suggestion by Giancarlo Gentilini, the identification of the unknown master with Sandro di Lorenzo di Smeraldo, the maker of the *Bacchus reclining on a casket* referred to in the often-cited 1523 valuation, about which so much had been written between 1998 and 2004 by Butterfield, Franklin, and Waldman. Three years later, in his monograph on Rustici, Philippe Sénéchal, accepted as we have seen only the Katz *River God* as autograph and undertook a painstaking reconstruction of the oeuvre of the Master of the Unruly Children whom he also tentatively identifies as Sandro di Lorenzo and to whom he ascribed other versions of these statuettes.[198] Some versions of *River Gods* and *Bacchus* were also mentioned by Tommaso Mozzati,[199] who does not exclude that some of them could have been made in the workshop of the celebrated friend of Leonardo.

[193] On Rustici and Sansovino's friendship, cfr Mozzati 2008, ad indicem (Tatti, Iacopo).

[194] Vasari 1550, 1568, ed.1966-1997, V [1984], pp. 199-201, VI [1987], pp. 188. A recent profile of the elusive figure of Solosmeo, which mentions his training with Sansovino, is provided by Mozzati 2008, pp. 352-355, while for Tribolo's apprenticeship with Tatti, cfr. Giannotti 2014, p. 5.

[195] K. Zock, in New York 2002, pp. 54-59.

[196] A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101. See also above, pp. 65, 66.

[197] Bellandi 2004, p. 250.

[198] Sénéchal 2007, pp. 149-150, 152. The scholar has reproposed the probable identification even more recently: Idem 2012, p. 31. He does not reject the hypothesis that some of the works of the Master might belong to Zaccaria Zacchi. Regarding the affinity between the works of Zacchi and that of the anonymous master, see also pp. 27-28, note 55 and *Madonna and Child, seated*, *A Shepherd*, and *Questionable attributions*, under Catalogue raisonné.

[199] Mozzati 2008, p. 50 note 239.

LIST OF STATUETTES OF *RIVER GOD* AND *BACCHUS*

Single groups that do not form part of a pair are listed alphabetically while groups that have a pendant are listed numerically. Sculptures are listed by date of publication.

Image	Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.
	A) ***River God***	**terracotta** **26.1 x 34.5 x 17.5 cm** The terracotta displays faint traces of whitish colour, now yellowed. The *River God*, with long hair and beard, is semi-reclining and leaning with the torso and his right forearm on a rock, while the other supports a cornucopia reaching round behind the head and pouring water. The right leg is resting on the ground and is extended, while the other is entirely bent/. The drapery covers part of the right leg. The composition is identical to cat. 5.	- Vienna, Rudolf Berl collection (*c.*1921-*c.*1960) - London, with M. H. Drey (1960) **- KARLSRUHE, BADISCHES LANDESMUSEUM** (acquired on 19 April 1960 for 28,000 German marks) **inv. 60/95**	PLANISCIG 1921, pp. 372 **and fig. 392**, 373, 396, 477 <Jacopo Sansovino>; BRINCKMANN 1923-1924, II, pp. 12-13, **plate 4** <Jacopo Sansovino>; WEIHRAUCH 1935, p. 76 note 192 <Jacopo Sansovino>; VIENNA 1936, pp. 6 cat. 7, 17 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino> FROELICH-BUME 1937, p. 133 <Jacopo Sansovino>; WEIHRAUCH 1938, p. 467 <Jacopo Sansovino>; RICHARDSON 1946, p. 8 <Jacopo Sansovino>; SOTHEBY'S 1956, lot 101 <Jacopo Sansovino>; SCHNELLBACH 1964, p. 55 **and fig. 39** <Jacopo Sansovino>; MUNICH 1966, p. 19 cat. 48-49 <Jacopo Sansovino>; PETRASCH 1966, cat. 98 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; WELLENSIEK 1966, p. 635 <Jacopo Sansovino>; PETRASCH 1968, cat. G 162 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; PETRASCH 1976, cat. 196 (**and fig.**) < Jacopo Sansovino>; SCHROEDER 1976, p. 69 cat. 69 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; MUNICH 1977, cat. 47 < Jacopo Sansovino>; KRISS-RETTENBECK 1980, p. 290 <Jacopo Sansovino>; C. AVERY, in WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, CAMBRIDGE 1981, p. 49 cat. 9 <Master of the Unruly Children>; BOUCHER 1991, II, p. 371, 374 cat. 125, 375, **fig. 401** <late sixteenth century Florentine follower of Michelangelo >; GRIMM 1993, p. 189 <Jacopo Sansovino>; J. AUERSPERG, in NEW YORK, LONDON 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, p. 206 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; K. ZOCK, in NEW YORK 2002, p. 56 note 3 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 37a (**and fig.**) <Master of the Unruly Children>.	pp. 11, 53-54, 55-56, 60, 64, notes 163, 172, 186; fig. 45.
	C) ***River God*** or ***Allegory of the Seasons***	**terracotta** **26.7 x 34.9 x 17.8 cm** From the photos, there appear to be traces of colour. The figure, with long beard and hair, is semi-reclining with the torso leaning backwards and resting, together with the left forearm, on a cornucopia overflowing with the fruits of the earth. The left leg is bent, while the other is extended. A vase is situated between the legs. The cornucopia that reaches behind the head begins from his mouth and is supported by the right shoulder and arm. The right leg and the left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. The composition is very similar to cat. 2.	- Venice, Private collection (*c.* 1929); **- SAN FRANCISCO, FINE ARTS MUSEUMS OF SAN FRANCISCO** gift of M. H. de Young (acquired on 12 August 1938 from S. Aram, New York) **inv. 55197**	BOLLETTINO D'ARTE 1929, p. 572 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; WEIHRAUCH 1935, p. 76 note 192 <Jacopo Sansovino>; MUNICH 1977, cat. 47 <Jacopo Sansovino>; A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, p. 206 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 40b <Master of the Unruly Children>.	pp. 11, 56, 67, notes 2, 162; fig. 51.

Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.	Image
B) ***Bacchus***	**terracotta** **34.9 x 36.2 x 22.2 cm** The terracotta still displays much of the colour simulating bronze. It lacks the right arm and part of the respective leg. The *Bacchus*, with flowing beard but short hair (the only example to have hair of this type), is seated, almost upright, on a cask on which he is leaning with the palm of the hand. The left leg is bent. In the left hand he holds a bunch of grapes, similar to cat. 4. A cup is situated between the legs. The right leg and the left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. The composition is similar to cat. D, but the torso and the arm are slightly more upright. In a similar way to cat.C, F and 4, the right leg must have been extended. This is probably the sculpture mentioned by Weihrauch 1935, p. 76 note 192, as being with the Berlin art dealer Gustav Nebehay in 1930. For a more detailed examination of this see above, p. 57.	- Berlin, art market (*c.* 1923) (incorrectly listed as in Kaiser Friederich Museum) - Berlin, with Gustav Nebehay (*c.* 1930) ? - New York, with Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Co. , 1945 **- Detroit, Institute of Arts** **inv. 45.25** gift of Mr. and Mrs. E. Raymond Field**,** 1945 **inv. 45.25**	Brinckmann 1923-1924, II, pp. 14-15, plate 5 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Weihrauch 1935, p. 76 note 192 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Richardson 1946 (**and fig.**); Sotheby's 1956, lot 101 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Sotheby's 1959, lot 161 <Jacopo Sansovino>; C. Avery, in Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981, p. 49 cat. 9 <Master of the Unruly Children>; Boucher 1991, II, p. 371-372 cat. 118, 375, **fig. 394** <middle XVI century sculptor, working in the wake of Michelangelo>; Ferretti 1992, p. 45 <Master of the Unruly Children>; J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Avery 1996, p. 779 <Master of the Unruly Children>; Butterfield, Franklin 1998, pp. 819 **fig. 46**, 820-821 <Florentine origin, *c.* 1520>; A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, pp. 206-208 cat. 101 (**and fig.**), **plate 17** <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; K. Zock, in New York 2002, p. 56 note 3 **and fig. 1** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Bellandi 2004, p. 250 <Master of the Unruly Children>; Sénéchal 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 39b (**and fig.**) <Master of the Unruly Children>.	pp. 11, 16, 19, 54, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 66, 67, notes 172, 185; figs. 1, 42.	
D) ***Bacchus***	**terracotta** **28.2 x 28.4 x 18.8 cm** The terracotta still bears some traces of the bronze colouring. The sculpture has suffered much damage: it lacks part of the base and the *Bacchus'* right leg is missing. The *Bacchic* figure, with flowing hair and beard, is seated, in an almost upright position, on a cask upon which he is also resting his left forearm. The left leg is bent. In the left hand he holds a bowl (broken in half), while in the other, a vase pouring water. In between the legs is a cup. The right leg and left arm are partly covered by drapery. The composition is similar to cat. B, but the torso is slightly more inclined and the arm is more bent. In a similar way to cat. C, F and 4, the right leg must have been almost fully extended.	- Torri Gattaia (Florence), Charles Loeser collection (before 1959); - Sotheby's, London, 1959; - Florence, with Marcello Guidi (*c.* 1962) - Princeton, Millard and Margaret Meiss collection (*c.* 1965-1994); **- Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum** (from 1995) gift of Margaret L. Meiss **inv. y1994-67**	Forthcoming Sales 1959, pp. 473-474; Sotheby's 1959, lot 161 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; Connoisseur, 1959, p. IV (advertisement) (**fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; Weihrauch 1965, pp. 267 **fig. 5**, 270 <Jacopo Sansovino>; F. Gibbons, in Princeton 1972, pp. 13, 16 cat. **and fig. 10**. <Jacopo Sansovino> Kriss-Rettenbeck 1980, p. 290 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Boucher 1991, II, p. 374; J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Acquisitions of The Art Museum 1995, p. 47 (**and fig.**) <Italian, 16th century>; A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, p. 206 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; K. Zock, in New York 2002, p. 56 note 3 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Sénéchal 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 39c <Master of the Unruly Children>.	pp. 11, 19, 59-60, 63, 65-66, 67; figs. 2, 55.	

Image	Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.
	E) ***River God***	**terracotta,** **25.4 x 21 x 22.2 cm** From photographs, the terracotta seems to display light traces of colour. It is lacking most of the legs. The right arm is also almost entirely lost. The *River God*, with long hair and beard, rests his semi-reclined torso and right forearm on a vase, while with the other he supported a cornucopia (similar to that in cat. F), of which only a fragment remains. The right leg and left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. Compared to other *River Gods*, the pose is more compact and the right arm is bent sharply back. Despite the missing elements, it can be deduced that the composition must have been similar to cat 1.	**Providence, Rhode Island School of Design** (from at least 1956) **inv. 55.089**	Sotheby's 1956, lot 101 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Treasures 1956, n.p. reference (but see 14) (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; C. Avery, in Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981, p. 49 **and fig. 5** <Master of the Unruly Children> ; Ferretti 1992, p. 45 <Master of the Unruly Children>; Avery 1996, p. 779 <Master of the Unruly Children>; J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, p. 206 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; K. Zock, in New York 2002, p. 56 note 3 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Bellandi 2004, p. 250 <Master of the Unruly Children>. Sénéchal 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 38 (**and fig.**) <Master of the Unruly Children>.	pp. 11, 58-59, 63, 65; fig. 52.
	1) ***River God*** *or* ***Allegory of the Seasons***	**terracotta** **28.5 x 33.5 x 20 cm** It has not been possible to assess eventual traces of colour from the only photograph available. The *River God*, with long hair and beard, rests his semi-reclined torso and right arm on a cornucopia containing fruit and vegetables and holds the end of it with his other hand. Compared to the other *River Gods*, and similar to cat. E, the pose is more compact. The right leg touches the ground and his slightly extended, while the other, fully bent, rests on a vase pouring forth water, placed in between the legs. The right leg and left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. The composition is similar to cat. E. This is probably one of the two terracottas mentioned in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Brinckmann 1923-1924, II, p 13), on loan from the Fitzhenry collection (Weihrauch 1935, p. 76 note 192). For further discussion of this aspect see above, pp. 57, 61.	- English private collection (before 1956); - Sotheby's, London, 1956; - With Wertheimer ? (*c.* 1956-1966) - Munich, with Julius Böhler, 1966 - American private collection ? (*c.* 1966 - ?) **Location unknown**	Forthcoming Sales 1956, p. 423 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Sotheby's 1956, lot 101 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; Sotheby's 1959, lot 161 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Munich 1966, p. 19 cat. 48, plate XXXVII **fig. 48** <Jacopo Sansovino>; Wellensiek 1966, p. 635, 636 (**and fig.**) <Jacopo Sansovino>; Petrasch 1968, cat. G 162 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Petrasch 1976, cat. 169 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Weihrauch 1965, pp. 266 **fig. 4**, 270 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Munich 1966, p. 19 cat. 48 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Munich 1977, cat. 47 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Kriss-Rettenbeck 1980, p. 290 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Boucher 1991, II, p. 374; J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; K. Zock, in New York 2002, p. 56 note 3 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Sénéchal 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 37b <Master of the Unruly Children>.	11, 57, 58, 60-62, notes 3, 136; fig. 53.

Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.	Image
F) ***River God***	**terracotta** **33 x 26 x 21 cm** The terracotta is brownish in colour, its surface is greasy and there are some traces of the orginal bronze colouring. The *River God*, with long hair and beard, is semi-reclined with the torso inclined backwards and is resting the left forearm on a vase pouring water while holding its handle in his hand: this is the only work in the group with this characteristic. The left leg is bent, while the other is extended. With the right hand he grasps a cup and beneath his right arm is the horn of a lost cornucopia (similar to that in cat. E). The right leg and the left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. The composition is similar to cat. 4. The work was restored around 1971.	- Venice, with Ettore Viancini, before 1964 **- Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro** (acquired by the Italian State by pre-emption right exercised over Viancini) **inv. SC. 76**	Moschini Marconi 1992, p. 112 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Giometti 2011, p. 35 cat. 6 <Jacopo Sansovino>.	pp. 11, 23, 65; figs. 7, 21, 43, 56-59.	
2) ***River God*** *or* ***Allegory of the Seasons***	**terracotta** **26.5 x 33.5 x 20 cm** The terracotta has a brownish colouration, the surface is greasy and there are some traces of the original bronze colouring. The sculpture has been truncated so that the figure lacks the right leg and part of the base. The *River God*, characterised by a flowing beard and not very long hair, is semi-reclining with the torso leaning backwards and resting, together with the left forearm on a cornucopia overflowing with the fruits of the earth. A vase is placed in between the legs. His right leg and the left shoulder are partly covered by drapery. The composition is very similar to cat. C. Like this work, it can be deduced that the right leg must have been extended. This is probably one of the two terracottas recorded in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Brinckmann 1923-1924, II, p 13), on loan from the Fitzhenry collection (Weihrauch 1935, p. 76 note 192). For further discussion of this aspect, see above, pp. 57, 61.	- English private collection (before 1956); - Sotheby's, London, 1956; - With Wertheimer (*c.* 1956-1966) - Munich, with Julius Böhler, 1966 - American private collection ? (*c.* 1966-before 1973/1974 ?) -Swiss private collection (1973/1974 - before 1977) - Munich, with Julius Böhler, 1977 **- Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum** gift of the Freundeskreis for Weihrauch's retirement in Munich (acquired 8 February 1979) **inv. 79/318**	Forthcoming Sales 1956, p. 423 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Sotheby's 1956, lot 101 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Munich 1966, p. 19 cat. 49, plate XXXVII **fig. 49** <Jacopo Sansovino>; Wellensiek 1966, p. 635, 636 **(and fig.)** <Jacopo Sansovino>; Petrasch 1968, cat. G 162; <Jacopo Sansovino>; Petrasch 1976, cat. 196 <Jacopo Sansovino>; Munich 1977, cat. 47 **(and fig.)** <Jacopo Sansovino>; Kriss-Rettenbeck 1980, p. 290 **and fig. 290** <Jacopo Sansovino>; Müller-Mehlis 1980, p. 1747 **(and fig.)** <Jacopo Sansovino>; C. Avery, in Washington, New York, Cambridge 1981, p. 49 cat. 9 <Master of the Unruly Children>; Boucher 1991, II, pp. 372, 375 cat. 126, **fig. 402** <related to the Bacchic figure in Detroit, though not by the same hand>; J. Auersperg, in New York, London 1996, p. 10 note 2 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>, A.P. Darr, in Darr, Barnet, Boström 2002, I, p. 206 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; K. Zock, in New York 2002, p. 56 note 3 <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; Sénéchal 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 40a **(and fig.)** <Master of the Unruly Children>.	11, 57, 58, 60-63, 64, notes 3, 136; fig. 54.	

Image	Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.
	3) ***River God***	**terracotta** **32 x 31.5 cm** The terracotta now lacks any traces of colour, although photos discovered in the archive of a Florentine scholar show it still with some of its bronze colouring. The *River God*, with long hair and beard, is semi-reclining and leaning with the torso and his right forearm on the rock pouring forth water. With the other arm he holds a cornucopia (also pouring water) which is supported on his left shoulder: this is the only work in the group with this characteristic. The right leg is slightly extended, while the other is bent. The right arm and the right leg are partly enveloped by drapery. The composition is a variant of cat. A and 5, the figure is seated higher on the rock and holds the cornucopia on the left shoulder.	- Florence, Private collection (20th century); - London, with Daniel Katz (*c.* 1996-2002); **- PRIVATE COLLECTION**	J. AUERSPERG, in NEW YORK, LONDON 1996, p. 10 cat. 2 **(and fig.)** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; K. ZOCK, in NEW YORK 2002, pp. 54-59 cat. 9 **(and plates)** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 1997, inside front cover advertisement **(fig.)** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 2002, advertisement **(fig.)** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, p. 208 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, pp. 149 **fig. 174**, 150 **and fig. 175**, 205 cat. S. 23, 151 (**plate**) <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>.	11, 22-23, 61, 66, 67, notes 4; figs. 6, 8-9, 47.
	5) ***River God***	**terracotta** **26 x 33 x 21 cm** The terracotta displays faint traces of white colour, which has now darkened. The sculpture is lacking part of the left leg. The *River God*, with long beard and hair, is semi-reclining and resting with the torso and his right forearm on the rock pouring forth water, while with the other he supports a cornucopia that wraps round behind his head and from which liquid is pouring. The right leg is on the ground and extended, while the other is bent. The drapery covers only part of the right leg. The composition of the figure is identical to cat. A.	- Florence, heirs of the Zalum family, probably Villa Gamberaia (20th century) **- LONDON, TRINITY FINE ART**	Unpublished	8-12, 19, 23, 41, 42-43, 61; figs. 5, 10, 15, 18, 40

Subject	Technique, dimensions, description and observations	Provenance and present location	Literature and references regarding attribution	Ref. to text and figs.	Image
4) ***Bacchus***	**terracotta** **31.5 x 41 cm** From the photos, there do not appear to be any traces of colour. *Bacchus*' head is the result of a modern restoration and is not original. *Bacchus* is semi-reclined with the torso leaning backwards and is resting his forearm on a cask. The right leg is extended, while the other is bent. He is holding a bunch of grapes in his left hand, and a vase pouring water in the right. A fluted cup is situated in between the legs. The right leg is covered by drapery and the chest covered with a cloak wrapped around the neck. The composition is similar to cat. F.	- Florence, Private collection (20th century); - London, with Daniel Katz (*c.* 1996): **- PRIVATE COLLECTION**	J. AUERSPERG, NEW YORK, LONDON 1996, p. 10 cat. 2 **(and fig.)** <Giovanfrancesco Rustici>; A.P. DARR, in DARR, BARNET, BOSTRÖM 2002, I, p. 208 <Florentine sculptor close to Bartolomeo Ammannati>; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 238 cat. SR. 39a **(and fig.)** <Master of the Unruly Children>.	11, 19, 61, 66, notes 4; figs. 3, 48.	
6) ***Bacchus***	**terracotta** **25 x 29 x 20 cm** The terracotta is a whitish colour, which has now yellowed. The sculpture is missing part of the right leg. The *Bacchus* is almost fully supine on a cask on which he also rests his left arm, sharply bent back. The left leg is bent. In his left hand he holds a bowl, and with the other, a vase pouring water. Beside the figure is a cup. A cloak covers the back and wraps around the shoulders. This is the only version among those known in which the cup is situated to the side of the figure and not in between the legs. This type of composition is not corroborated by other examples, however the left leg was, probably, extended.	- Florence, heirs of the Zalum family, probably Villa Gamberaia (20th century) **- LONDON, TRINITY FINE ART**	Unpublished	8-12, 19, 41, 42-43, 61; figs. 4, 17, 20, 37	

Statuettes of *River god* and *Bacchus* grouped according to their similarities in composition

Group **A:**
cat. 3

Group **B:**
cat. A, 5

Group **C:**
cat. 1, E

Group **D**
cat. C, 2

Group **E**
cat. F, 4

Group **F**
cat. B, D

Group **G**
cat. 6

THE MASTER OF THE UNRULY CHILDREN: A CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

The order of the catalogue is alphabetical according to subject. Also within each subject, the works appear in alphabetical order, according to their location unless otherwise specified, the sculptures are in terracotta.

BATTLES BETWEEN RIDERS AND FOOTSOLDIERS:

Fig. 60. Master of the Unruly Children, *Charity*, 1520-1530. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum.

Fig. 61. After the Master of the Unruly Children, *Charity*, 18th century ?. Sesto Fiorentino, Richard Ginori Factory.

This type of sculpture seems to have been present in Florentine households in the Early Cinquecento. As noted by Mozzati 2008, p. 44 note 215, in 1516 Andrea Minerbetti bought – according to a document published by Schiaparelli 1908, p. 187 note 1 – "two horses, one figure on horseback, all made in clay" ("due cavalli, una figura a cavallo, tutti di terra cotta"), whereas another document, of 1517, specifies that "two terracottas horses" ("due cavagli di terra") were with the Rucellai family (Lydecker 1987, p. 71 note 99).

- **Florence, Palazzo Vecchio** (Loeser collection, provenance Casa Ridolfi), inv. 1933, n. 7, 60 x 55 x 26 cm (**fig. 11**), (De Nicola 1916, p. 177 n. 22; Loeser 1928, p. 271; Casellato, Martini, Pini, Rosa, Sibilia, Soroldoni 2010, *esp.* pp. 394-395; M.G. Vaccari, in Florence 2010, pp. 280-282 cat. 11 [with previous bibliography]).
- **Florence, Palazzo Vecchio** (Loeser collection, provenance Casa Rucellai), inv. 1933, n. 8, 50 x 54 x 26 cm (**fig. 12**), (De Nicola 1916, p. 177 n. 22; Loeser 1928, p. 271; Casellato, Martini, Pini, Rosa, Sibilia, Soroldoni 2010, *esp.* pp. 394-395; M.G. Vaccari, in Florence 2010, pp. 280-282 cat. 12 [with previous bibliography]).
- **Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts**, inv. CK 203, 57 x 55 x 27 cm, (Shileico 1939; Mozzati 2008, p. 46 [with previous bibliography]).
- **Private collection**, 53 x 58.5 cm (**fig. 13**), (Sotheby's 1988, lot 86; Sénéchal 2007, p. 236 cat. SR. 33 [with previous bibliography]).

For these four sculptures see also above, pp. 22, 23, 25, 30.

CHARITY, GROUPS OF:

The presence in Florentine households from the beginning of the Cinquecento of this type of sculpture can be attested, as noted by Ferretti 1992, p. 41, by a document of 1521 according to which Andrea Minerbetti gave his son a "carità di terracotta" to mark the occasion of his marriage (Schiaparelli 1908, p. 187 note 1). On this aspect cfr. also Musacchio 2008, p. 233. Further evidence can be inferred from the 1553 inventory of the Guardaroba segreta in the Palazzo Vecchio, which mentions: "Una Carità di terra cotta color di bronzo" (Conti 1893, p. 140; Barocchi, Gaeta Bertelà 2002, p. 191). The sculpture can also be traced to the inventory of the Guardaroba

of Cosimo I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in 1560-1570 (Ibid., p. 219) and to that of the Guardaroba of 1595-1597, where it is specified as being "di braccia 2/3" (*c.* 39 cm: Ibid., p. 451). The 1624-1658 inventory of the Guardaroba, however, states that the "Carità di terracotta" has "dua banbini [sic] coloriti" Barocchi, Gaeta Bertelà 2005, I, p. 315. The indication that Charity is accompanied by two children leads to the hypothesis that this might be similar to the one now in the Richard Ginori Factory in Sesto Fiorentino.
The compositional scheme of the groups of Charity is adopted also in the Madonna and Child statuettes.

Type A: Of this type only one version is known. Charity paired with a single child, proffers a flame.

- Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friederich Museum, inv. 5558, 61.5 cm (**fig. 60**): lost after WWII (Fabriczy 1909, p. 20 cat. 25; Lambacher 2006, p. 152 cat. 5558; Sénéchal 2007, p. 242 SR. 47 [with previous bibliography]).

Type B: Of this type only one version is known. Here, Charity is accompanied by two children, one on her right, held by the hand and clothed, the other in movement as he reveals the Charity's breast. This composition, as Dimitrios Zikos has kindly pointed out to me, is attested by a late terracotta copy now in the **Richard Ginori Factory, Sesto Fiorentino** (inv. 1152 bianco), published by Balleri 2014, pp. 37-39, who, while acknowledging the Master of the Unruly Children as the inventor of the composition, dates it to the first half of the 18th century (**fig. 61**).

Type C: In the third, Charity is accompanied by three children. A child on her right whom she is holding by the hand, one on the left and another child who is revealing her breast.

- Birmingham, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, inv. 1885P1714, 54.5 x 40 x 21 cm (**fig. 62**): the head of Charity has been reworked and probably fake (Pope-Hennessy 1964, II, p. 407; Sénéchal 2007, p. 241 cat. SR. 43 [with previous bibliography]).

The **Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome** possesses a marble *Charity* acquired in the 1950s from the antique dealer Aloisio Bellini with an attribution by Planiscig to Tribolo (**fig. 63**). I am grateful to Francesco Colaucci (Palazzo del Quirinale, Ufficio per la Conservazione del Patrimonio Artistico) for providing this information. The sculpture is presumed to be almost exactly identical to the *Charity* in Birmingham, even with regard to the reworked head, which does not appear to be old. The absolutely clear parentage of the Birmingham version, the academic treatment of the marble and the addition of details, such as the drapery around the putti's genitals, indicates a 20th-century dating of the Quirinale version. Furthermore, another false marble version of a *Charity* in a **private collection** is known. Also this is taken from the English terracotta. It was sold at auction in 2003: Semenzato 2003, lot 220.

Fig. 62. Master of the Unruly Children and unknown modern sculptor (the head), *Charity*, 1520-1530. Birmingham, Birmingham Museum and Art Galleries.

Fig. 63. Style of the Master of the Unruly Children, *Charity*, early 20th century. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale.

Fig. 64. Master of the Unruly Children, *Charity*, 1520-1530. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 65. Master of the Unruly Children and unknown modern sculptor (the head), *Charity*, 1520-1530. Formerly Florence, with Botticelli Antichità.

- Formerly Florence, Botticelli Antichità, 54 x 38 x 22 cm (**fig. 65**): Bode 1890, pp. 103, 105; American Art Galleries 1918, lot 321; Pope-Hennessy 1964, II, p. 407; Semenzato 2001, lot 148; A. Bellandi, in Florence 2005, n. p. (but see 16-20). *Charity*'s head is clearly restored and fake. This feature enables us to identify the sculpture with the work mentioned in the letter (8 February 1896) quoted by Pope-Hennessy (1964, II, p. 407) in which Bode writes to August Zeiss (Zeiss 1900, p. 6 cat. 8) that Bardini owns two Charities by the Master of the Unruly Children, one of which has a fake head ["Bardini (Florenz) besitz ein Exemplar (mit falschem Kopf) und ein zeites habe ich früher in Handel gesehen"]. Moreover, thanks to the description provided by Bode (1890, pp. 103, 105), it possible to identify this *Charity* with the one the scholar mentions in the Florentine art market. See also below, under *Madonna and Child, seated*.

- London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. A56-1920, 59.1 cm (**fig. 64**): Tschudi 1899, p. 83; Zeiss 1900, p. 6 cat. 8; P. Motture, in Ottawa 2005, pp. 184-185 cat. 57; Sénéchal 2007, pp. 240-241 SR. 42.

For all these sculptures see also above, p. 23.

CHILDREN, FIGHTING:

A probable archival reference to objects of this type is found in the posthumous inventory of Lorenzo Lapini in 1568: Shaw, Welch 2011, p. 310 note 20, in which "two children in clay" ("dua putti di terra") are mentioned.

- Berlin, Bode-Museum, inv. 1585, h. 27 cm (**fig. 22**), severely damaged in WWII (Bode 1890, pp. 103-104; Lambacher 2006, p. 253 cat. 1585; Sénéchal 2007, pp. 233-234 cat. SR. 29 [with previous bibliography]; Idem 2012, p. 31). Originally painted to resemble bronze (Bode 1890, pp.103-104).

- London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 253-1876, h. cm 27.9 (**fig. 23**), (Bode 1890, pp. 103-104; Sénéchal 2007, p. 234 cat. SR. 30 [with previous bibliography]). Originally painted to resemble bronze (Bode 1890, pp.103-104).

- Formerly Turin, with Giancarlo Gallino, 46.5 x 31 x 15 cm (**fig. 31**), (Ferretti 1992; Musacchio 1999, p. 127; Pisani 2007, pp. 227-230; Sénéchal 2012, p. 31. There are various modern casts in plaster, terracotta and there was even a marble copy, now destroyed, in the Bellariva garden in Florence: Sénéchal 2007, p. 235 SR. 31 (with previous bibliography).

It is not possible to include in the corpus of the anonymous master the *Reclining Child* presented in the exhibition held at the gallery of David Peel & Co. Ltd. in 1968, (London 1968, cat. 1). Dalli Regoli 1978, pp. 138, 142 note 10, cites the opinion of Peter Meller who attributes it to Andrea Sansovino, while more plausibly Naldi 2002, p. 86, attributes the work to Andrea Ferrucci. Pisani 2004, p. 273, proposed, not entirely convincingly, the authorship of the Master of the Unruly Children, suggesting that the work derived from the celebrated Verrochian reclining putto.

For all these sculptures see also above, pp. 20, 23, 30, 51.

FORTITUDE:

- Cerreto Guidi, Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio, inv. Bd013022, h. 46 cm (**fig. 66**): formerly in the Bardini collection, it was incorrectly ascribed to Pollaiolo by SCALINI 2006, pp. 20-23. *Fortitude* also displays similarities in the drapery and physiognomical features to the Gallino *Fighting Children* and the *Tobias and the Angel* in Budapest, here attributed to the Master of the Unruly Children: see also under *Children, Fighting* and *Tobias and the Angel*). The helmet of *Fortitude* is of type that appears already in Ghiberti's North Door of the Baptistery and very similar to those of the Riders and Soldiers in the groups representing *Battles*.
For this sculpture see also above, p. 24.

Fig. 66. Master of the Unruly Children, *Fortitude*, 1510-1520. Cerreto Guidi, Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio.

MADONNA KNEELING IN PRAYER:

- Formerly London, Daniel Katz Ltd, 56.4 x 23.5 x 20,5 cm (**fig. 67**): BELLANDI 2004; G. BALDERSTON, in LONDON 2006, pp. 22-23 cat. 6; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, pp. 241-242 cat. SR. 45-SR. 45a (with previous bibliography), claims, incorrectly, that these are two different statues.
For this sculpture see also p. 24 and under *Questionable attributions*.
Closely related to this *Madonna kneeling in prayer* is a ***Female head***, originally probably part of a Madonna, preserved in the **Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden** (inv. ZV2660, 13.5 x 9.2 x 9.3 cm): I. RAUMSCHÜSSEL in DRESDEN 1992, pp. 22-23 cat. 22; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 241 cat. SR. 44 (with previous bibliography).

Fig. 67. Master of the Unruly Children, *Madonna kneeling in prayer*, 1520-1530. Formerly London, with Daniel Katz.

MADONNA AND CHILD, SEATED:

The compositional scheme of the Madonna and Child statuette is also adopted in the groups of Charity.

Type A: appears older than Type B. In Type A Christ stands by the Madonna.

- Formerly Florence, with Stefano Bardini, 45 cm (AMERICAN ART GALLERIES 1918, lot 310).

- Formerly Milan, with Alessandro Cesati, 72 x 48 x 21 cm (**fig. 69**) (LONDON 1957, n. 7; BURLINGTON MAGAZINE 1957, pp. xvii (advertisement); SOTHEBY'S 2010 lot 418): the Madonna holds a book in her right hand.

- Private collection, unpublished (**fig. 68**).

Type B: the Christ Child is shown in movement as he reveals the Madonna's breast.

- Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. BK-NM-12996, 55.5 x 30 cm (LEEUWUENBERG 1973, p. 360 cat. 604; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, pp. 243-244 cat. SR. 50 [with previous bibliography]; HIGHAM, LORNE 2011): the Madonna holds a book in her right hand.

- Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friederich Museum, inv. 1583, h. 60 cm (**fig. 70**), lost after WWII (BODE 1890, pp. 103-104, 105; LAMBACHER 2006, p. 152 cat. 1583; SÉNÉCHAL 2007, p. 243 SR. 48 [with previous bibliography]): the Madonna holds a book in her right hand;

- **Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Eva Klabin**, inv. FEK366, 55 x 30 x 22 cm (Carter 1932, p. xxi; Christie's 1932, lot 91; Sénéchal 2007 p. 243 SR. 49; Migliaccio 2007, pp. 72-73).

Fig. 68. Master of the Unruly Children, *Madonna and Child*, 1500-1510. Private collection.

In addition, the Museo Bardini in Florence has a *Madonna with Child and angels* in polychrome terracotta (n. 1135, inv. 721, h. 67.5 cm), linked to the Master of the Unruly Children by E. Neri Lusanna, in Neri Lusanna, Faedo 1986, pp. 288-289 cat. 300, and now correctly attributed to Zaccaria Zacchi by David Lucidi (2012, p. 146). Neri Lusanna erroneously identified this sculpture with the one with the fake head mentioned by Bode, which should instead be identified as the example at the Galleria Botticelli in Florence in 2005: see also above, under *Charity, Groups of*). Regarding the affinity between the work of Zacchi and that of the anonymous master, see also pp. 27-28, notes 55, 198, and *A Shepherd*, under *Questionable attributions*.

For all these sculptures see also p. 23.

MADONNA AND CHILD, STANDING:

- **Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friederich Museum**, inv. 1941, h. 63.5 cm (**fig. 28**): lost after WWII (Bode 1892-1905, IV [1895-1896], plate 186b, XII [*Text*], p. 56; Lambacher 2006, p. 151 cat. 1941; Sénéchal 2007, p. 244 SR. 52). Interesting and little known photos of this Madonna are reproduced in Stites 1970, p. 335 figs. 287-287a.

For this sculptures see also above, pp. 23, 28.

Fig. 69. Master of the Unruly Children, *Madonna and Child*, 1510-1520. Formerly Milan, with Alessandro Cesati.

MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST ANNE:

- **New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art**, inv. 1986.156.2, h. 40.6 cm (**fig. 71**): the sculpture shows signs of various reworkings, particularly in the head of the Madonna. Published for the first time in the catalogue of the Bardini sale in New York (American Art Galleries 1918, lot 311), it was published as a Florentine sculpture of the early Cinquecento by J. G. Phillips 1969, p. 388. It was tentatively linked to the activity of the Master of the Unruly Children by J.D. Draper, in Recent Acquisitions 1987, p. 23, and, to my knowledge, has never been included after 1987 in the literature pertaining to the anonymous master. It can without doubt be included in his oeuvre, as proven by the comparison between the Child seated on the Madonna's lap and the putti present in the sculptures in the catalogue of the master's work.

For this sculpture see also above, p. 24.

A SHEPHERD:

- **Private collection**: the unpublished *Shepherd* (**fig. 72**), with its moving and introspective Verrocchiesque gestuality should be assigned to a latter phase in the albeit approximate chronology of the Master of the Unruly Children's oeuvre, towards the mid-16th century. Evidence supporting the attribution to the unknown artist can be seen in the multifaceted treatment

of the clay, in the sharp folds of the garments similar to that of the onlookers in the Loeser terracotta *Battle* previously in the possession of the Rucellai (see also above, under *Battles between Riders and Footsoldiers*) and in the fresh and tormented modelling of the ground and the outcrop on which the figure is seated, a recurrent characteristic in the work of the Master of the Unruly Children. The sculpture, of relatively large dimensions, is a figure from a nativity scene and also testifies to the production by the master of works on a larger scale. This activity was exemplified, until now, only by the *Madonna and Child* in Buggiano (see below, under *Questionable attributions*). Like this work, the *Shepherd* also seems to be related, both in theme and in certain formal similarities, to several works by the sculptor from Volterra, Zaccaria Zacchi (see also pp. 27-28, notes 55, and 198 and *Madonna and Child, seated, Questionable attributions*). The work was exhibited by the dealer Paolo Ponti of Spello at the Arte Antica '95, Biennale di Antiquariato held between 24 February and 5 May 1995 at the Lingotto Fiere in Turin. On this occasion, the connection with the Master of the Unruly Children was advanced, verbally, by Giancarlo Gentilini.

For this sculpture see also above, p. 24.

Fig. 70. Master of the Unruly Children, *Madonna and Child*, 1520-1530. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AS A CHILD:

- London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 4496-1858, h. 29,5 (with the base [25,7 without the base]) (**fig. 33**): Bode 1890, p. 104; Pope-Hennessy 1964, II, pp. 408-409 cat. 427; Sénéchal 2007, p. 244 cat. SR. 51. For this sculpture see also above, pp. 24, 37-38.

Pisani (2007, p. 227 note 54) has linked to this work another ***Bust of the Young St John the Baptist*** in the **Haggerty Museum, Milwaukee** (inv. 87.20, 26 x 23.5 x 15.9 cm), attributed by L. A. Waldman, in Milwaukee 2001, p. 84 cat. 42, to an anonymous 16th-century Florentine artist.

Fig. 71. Master of the Unruly Children and unknown modern sculptor (the head of the Madonna), *Madonna and Child with St Anne*, 1520-1530. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL:

- Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 2047, 53.9 x 29 x 18 cm (**fig. 73**): the terracotta, referred by Paul Schubring in a manuscript of 1913 now in the Hungarian museum to the circle of Verrocchio, has been attributed to Andrea del Verrocchio with a dating between 1465 and 1475 by Balogh (1937-1939, pp. 57-58; Eadem 1969, pp. 88, 90-94; Eadem 1975, pp. 71-72 cat. 67). The attribution to Verrocchio himself is generally rejected and, at most, it is considered plausible to place the work within the Florentine master's circle: Pope-Hennessy 1975, p. 474; Adorno 1991, p. 236; János 1995, pp. 51-54, 56-57; J. Zsombor, in Budapest 2003, pp. 58, 113-114 cat. 5; Vilmos 2003, p. 9. The Budapest terracotta, also destined for a private collection (53 x 29 x 18 cm) bears close comparison in the nervous treatment of the material, in the crisp and tormented movement of the drapery to the Gallino *Fighting Children*: see above, under *Children, Fighting*. From the latter, decisive comparisons can also be drawn in the

everted, mechanical and dynamic pose of *Tobias* and in his physiognomical features. I thank Miriam Szőcs and Zsófia Vargyas, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.
For this sculpture see also above, p. 24.

Fig. 72. Master of the Unruly Children, *Shepherd*, 1520-1530. Private collection.

QUESTIONABLE ATTRIBUTIONS

MADONNA AND CHILD:

- Badia a Ripoli, church of San Bartolomeo (fig. 27): the *Madonna* in Badia a Ripoli was published by F. Petrucci, G. Ragionieri, in Conti 1983, p. 99 with an attribution to a Florentine sculptor of the late Quattrocento. The sculpture derived from Raphael's *Madonna and Child seated on Clouds*, engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi, and dated *c.* 1511: S. Massari, in Rome 1985, p. 194 cat. 5. Sculptural derivations of Raphael's original idea can also be found in Campania (Maiori, church of Santa Maria a Mare, Museo di Arte Sacra "Don Clemente Confalone": R. Naldi, in Florence 2013ª, pp. 330-331 cat. VII.5; Stella Cilento, church of San Nicola di Bari (La Greca 1997, p. 183); Padula, Certosa di San Lorenzo, Tomb of Tommaso Sanseverino (Restaino 2004, pp. 64-65); Vallo della Lucania, church of Santa Maria delle Grazie: La Greca 2012, pp. 103-104. For these examples in the Cilento region, cfr. Sansone 2013-2014, pp. 91-93).
For this sculpture see also above, p. 25.

Fig. 73. Master of the Unruly Children, *Tobias and the Angel*, 1520-1530. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.

- Buggiano, church of Santa Maria della Salute and San Nicolao, 155 cm (**fig. 24**): attributed to Jacopo Sansovino's juvenile period by Lisner (1962), who also noted affinities with the Master of the Unruly Children, the *Madonna* of Buggiano and two *Virgins* in Sorana and Serra Pistoiese have correctly been more convincingly associated with the activity of the unknown Master by M. Scudieri Maggi, in Impruneta 1980, pp. 110-112 cat. 2.16-2.18. Subsequently, this work was attributed by Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto (1984) to Torrigiano, together with the other two sculptures in Sorana and Serra Pistoiese, see below. The attribution to the Master of the Unruly Children was to some extent confirmed by Ferretti (1992, pp. 47-48), who, while noting affinities with the Master of the Unruly Children, favoured the hypothesis that the *Madonna* of Buggiano represented "a moment of transformation" ("*ad un momento della trasformazione*") in the work of Zaccaria Zacchi. Bacchi (1995, p. 267) also favoured the attribution to Zacchi and hypothetically re-allocated the works of the anonymous master to the corpus of the sculptor from Volterra, proposing that they might embody traces of his little known activity in Florence, while C. Pizzorusso, in Florence 1996, pp. 342-343 cat. 125, chose to catalogue it as "Tuscan sculptor *c.* 1530". Recently, Lucidi 2012, pp. 145-146, once again proposed attribution to the unknown artist. Lisner's hypothesis was rejected by Shearman 1965, I, p. 62 note 3; Garrard 1970, pp. 128-129; Boucher, 1991, II, p. 366 cat. 101. On the technique in the execution of

this *Madonna* and those in Sorana and Serra Pistoiese, cfr. GENTILINI 1996[b], pp. 90, 95. Regarding the affinity between the work of Zacchi and that of the anonymous master, see also above, pp. 27-28, notes 55, 198 and above, *Madonna and Child, seated*, A *Shepherd*.

- Serra Pistoiese, church of San Leonardo, 95 cm (**fig. 74**): the criticism of the Serra Pistoiese terracotta is similar to that of the Buggiano *Madonna and Child*, see also above. The *Madonna* of Serra Pistoiese is the weakest of the Pistoia versions and perhaps also the oldest. The treatment of the facial features is similar to that of the *Madonna Kneeling in Prayer* formerly in the Katz gallery in London: see also above, under *Madonna kneeling in prayer*.

- Sorana, church of San Pietro, 112 cm (**fig. 75**): the criticism of the Sorana terracotta is similar to that of the Buggiano *Madonna* and child, see above. More recently, F. PETRUCCI, in FIGLINE VALDARNO 2013, pp. 136-139 cat. 18, *esp.* p. 138, indicated by David Lucidi, has linked the *San Sebastiano* in the Pieve of San Romolo in Gaville (near to Figline Valdarno) to the *Madonna* in Sorana.

For these three sculptures see also above, pp. 25, 27.

Fig. 74. Master of the Unruly Children ?, *Madonna and Child*, 1520-1530. Serra Pistoiese, church of San Leonardo.

Fig. 75. Master of the Unruly Children ?, *Madonna and Child*, 1520-1530. Sorana, church of San Pietro.

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